History of KASHMIR SAIVISM



Dr. B. N. Pandit

ABOUT THE BOOK

The work traces the basic origin of Śaivism in the prehistoric civilization of Indus valley, its gradual penetration into the works by Vedic Aryans,. Coming to the actual history of its development it presents sufficient information about Śaiva Āgamas and especially the Trika Āgamas serving as the sources of Śaiva monism. Then it comes to the mystic type of works like Śivasūtra and Spandakārikā. Throwing sufficient light on the significance of the principle of ***spanda***, it discusses at length the controvercial problem of the authorship of Śpandakārikā. Proceeding through the history of the development of the philosophical side of the subject through the important works like Śivadṛṣṭi and Īśvarapratyabhijñā it presents the importance of the contribution of Abhinavagupta towards raising of the subject to the climax of its growth on both the sides of theory and practical theology. The last chapters are devoted to (1) the contribution of the authors of secondary importance (2) philosophical lyric poetry and (3) Neo Śaivism of Āchārya Amṛta-vāgbhava. The worth of Nāgārjuna, an unknown author of philosophic lyric poetry, is also brought to light in a chapter. Personal history of prominent authors is *added in an appendix.*

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KASHMIR SAIVISM

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Dedicated

to

ĀCHĀRYA ŚRĪ ABHINAVAGUPTA

Preface

This work on the ŚAIVISM OF KASHMIR is meant to present the historical development of the subject. The origin of Kashmir Śaivism has been discussed in the detailed introduction given before the chapter I. The work after that consists of eleven main chapters in all. The first chapter is also of an introductory character, giving just an outline of the development of the system. The second chapter throws light on the scriptural works that serve as the sources of Kashmir Śaivism. The third one deals with the origin and historical development of *Spanda-śāstra*, the knotty problem of the authorship of *Spanda-Kārikā* and the philosophic significance of the Spanda principle of Śaivism.

The philosophy of Śaiva monism was systematized and expressed through a logical method for the first time by Somānanda in his *Śivadṛṣṭi* and the fourth chapter of the work in hand is devoted to such topic. The next chapter throws light on the importance of *Īśvarapratyabhijñā* of Utpaladeva and provides an introduction to his other works as well. The fundamentals of his philosophy have also been discussed briefly in it. The sixth chapter deals at length with the contribution of Abhinavagupta to the theoretical and practical aspects of the philosophy of Kashmir Śaivism. The contribution of prominent authors of secondary importance has been discussed fully in the seventh chapter of the work in hand.

Śaiva Nāgārjuna, an unknown but an important author of Śaiva monism, and his works have been brought to light in the eighth chapter of the present work. Its ninth chapter presents a clear example of a spontaneous realization of the

self by a young boy named Sāhibrāma Kaula and explains his poem depicting the revelation of the Truth brought about by its such automatic realization. It is a poetic expression of the fundamental principle of Śaiva monism.

The tenth chapter deals in detail with the poetic expression of the philosophic and theological doctrines of Kashmir Śaivism contained in some philosophic hymns composed by ancient teachers and authors of Kashmir Śaivism. The eleventh chapter brings to light an unknown Śaiva philosopher of very high merit and his fresh views on Śaiva philosophy termed here as Neo-Śaivism.

A few appendices have been added to the book for the benefit of students.

Dr. Brajnandan Sharma has helped me a lot in preparing the press copy of this volume and in proof reading. He deserves my thanks for such help.

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Introduction

Philosophy in the West is a higher aspect of human wisdom based on sound arguments, worked out through correct reasoning and expressed in a logical style and method. Indian philosophy, known as *Darśana*, is, on the other hand, a super-human direct experience of the truth, attained by great yogins through their finer intuition, developed by means of practice in Yoga. Such experience shines in a psychic state which lies beyond all logic, reasoning and wisdom, because all such means to search out the truth are based on human conventions, established on mundane experiences of finite beings capable to know and to do just a little under the restrictions of the laws of nature. The *Darsàna* of Indian yogins also descends to the level of wisdom, but does so only when some such philosopher, having already experienced the truth through his intuition, tries to form a clear idea about it, and about its nature, charactar etc. in his understanding. Reasoning, based on conventional logic, serves just as an aid in such understanding of the truth. Logical argumentation has a greater use in making others understand the truth by means of its expression. Its still greater and more frequent use is seen in arguments and debates aimed at defeating some antagonists, bringing them on the right path of philosophic thinking and developing correct beliefs in them.

Logical arguments and discussions serve thus only as aids to develop a correct understanding of the intuitively discovered philosophic truth and to bring others on the line at their mental level.

A question rises here as to why did Indian yogins preach the truth in mutually different ways and how did Indian

philosophy evolve into mutually opposite schools of thought. It is just because the intuition of all the seekers of truth is not of one and the same standard. Some rare adept thinkers arouse in them a sharpest type of intuition which illuminates the truth in its inner-most and finest aspect as it penetrates into its most interior secrets; while the intuition of some lower type of yogins does very often rest at some blissful intermediary step in the process of its exploration. Some state of high blissfulness catches hold of them and they, feeling it highly tasteful, do not move ahead in their inquisitive search for the innermost aspect of the truth. Such attractive aspects of the truth shine at different steps of the state of sleeping animation termed as *Suṣuptī*. Besides, each and every yogin does not possess an equally sharp understanding capacity with the result that each yogin cannot form one and the same type of mental idea about the truth. Then the vocal capability of different yogins and the efficiency of their respective language do also play a great part in bringing about vast differences in their expressions of the truth.

All that results in the development of various types of schools of thought based on Yogic experiences of the truth. ***Apavarga*** of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika is, in accordance with its definition, such a step in the sleeping state of animation at which a being tastes the charms of a complete rest and does not at all feel any inclination or propensity towards any sort of knowing, desiring, doing, etc. *Kaivalya* of the Sāmkhya-yoga is another step in the sleeping state. A being resting at such step is left alone by all his exterior and interior senses and organs and he loses, for the time being, all his capacities to desire, to know and to do anything. He takes perfect rest in a state of absolute loneliness called *Kaivalya*. At a still finer step of the sleeping state a Yogin loses even the egotic sense of his individual self-awareness which becomes totally extinct, and consequently, such state is termed as *Nirvāna* of the Buddhist thinkers. The search of the Advaita Vadantins stoped at such a finer and higher step of ***Suṣuptī*** from where they could have just a peep into the state of ***Turyā***, the state of correct revelation, counted and talked about as the fourth state of animation. They saw the truth as an eternally ex-

istent, infinite consciousness, shining through its own psychic lustre and feeling itself highly blissful in nature and consequently they defined it as *Saccidānanda*. But they did not discover the theistic nature of the truth because they were held up at such step of *Suṣupti* by the tastefulness of the self-bliss. It is on such account that they had to resort to a hypothetical supposition of the existence of an impure element called Māyā as an entity other than the pure *Brahman* for the sake of a philosophic explanation of the phenomenal existence. It is on such account that *Svacchanda Tantra* says thus about all such thinkers :

"*Bhramayatyeva tān māyā hyamokṣe mokṣa-lipsayā*". (Sv. T-10-1141)

Higher yogins of superior merit discovered the truth at several lower and higher steps of *Turyā* and saw it through their intuition as the infinite and pure consciousness, having Godhead as its own essential nature and found it as the only basic cause of cosmic creation, dissolution etc. Since they also rested at more than one higher and lower steps of the state of intuitive revelation of the truth, some of them could not shake off, or did not like to shake off, their personal individuality and consequently developed a theistic philosophy seeing diversity between God, soul and matter. Some other Yogins saw a pratial unity between them and the infinite universal consciousness and consequently developed a philosophy of theism maintaining unity in diversity. Still higher type of yogins discovered the state of perfect unity. They pushed their individuality into oblivion and discovered themselves as the one universal consciousness having Godhead as its essential and basic nature. Practising such revelation of the reality again and again, they attained such a position in spiritual elevation in which they saw the perfect unity, unity in diversity and perfect diversity as mere manifestations of the single, eternal, infinite and pure consciousness, endowed with all divine powers of absolute Godhead. They saw God even in all inanimate entities, as well as in things taken to be good and bad, pure and impure, desirable and undesirable. That is *Parādvaita*, the supreme monism developed and taught by the authors of Kashmir Śaivism. They saw all phenomena as the

outward reflections of the divine powers of the Absolute, shining within the psychic light of its pure consciousness. They discovered even Māyā, the root cause of all misery, as a reflection of a divine power of God and advised to see only God as one's self, shining in His both the aspects of universal manifestation and transcendental position, for the purpose of the perfect discovery of the truth and accepted only such two-fold realization as the means of the final and highest goal of life.

As for the basic pre-historic origin of that monistic Śaivism, it can be discovered in the remains of the Indus Valley civilization which proves it beyond doubt that Śaivism as a religion of a highly civilized nation, well versed in the arts of reading and writing, had attained remarkable development in its aspects of ritual and higher theology in India in the third millennium B.C. It appears that the Indus Valley people were highly advanced in spiritual philosophy as well. The realization of the theistic and monistic absolutism of spiritual philosophy cannot be an out-come of mere mental thinking of wise thinkers. It can be the result of only an intuitional realization of the truth, developed and attained by the means of practice in such a system of yoga that leads a practitioner to a psychic state that transcends even the state of the highest dreamless sleep, shining in the *Nirvikalpa samādhi* of the yoga of Patañjali. Such realization of the truth shines only in the *Turyā state*, the state of intuitional revelation. Such revelation can be aroused easily and quickly by means of *Śāmbhava yoga* of Śaivism and the bust of a yogin in *Śāmbhavī mudrā*, found at Mohenjo-daro, proves that the yogins in Indus Valley civilization used to practise such *mudrā*. Therefore it can be guessed correctly that such yogins must have had the realization of the self as the infinite and pure I-consciousness, having infinite divine potency, called Godhead, as its essential nature. That proves the existence of the philosophy of theistic absolutism, the fundamental principle of monistic Śaivism, in India at a time about 3000 B.C. Since such philosophic views of absolute theistic monism are absent from the family books of Ṛgveda, and since the use of the word yoga, in the sense of yogic practice,

is not found anywhere in that Veda, it can be guessed correctly that the practice of yoga and the philosophy of monistic and theistic absolutism were not originally known to Vedic priests. The poetic description of absolute monism in ***Puruṣa sūkta*** (R.V.X-90) and that of monistic theism in ***Vāgambhṛṇiya*** hymn (R.V.X-125), both belonging to the tenth Maṇḍala of that Veda, prove that Vedic priests and authors learnt the monistic philosophy of theistic absolutism from the yogins of the Indus Valley, after having firmly settled in the plains of the Indus basin. The remains of that pre-Aryan civilization prove it to have been much more advanced and developed than that of Vedic Aryans who invaded Indus Valley and conquered it with the help of their fast moving cavalry. The Indus Valley civilization was a highly developed city-civilization, while the invading Aryan tribes lived as clans of nomads, moving from region to region along with their flocks of sheep, goats, cows and horses. It is therefore no wonder that even such conquering people were highly influenced by the culture of the people conquered by them. Pāśupata Śaivism of Tantric character penetrated thus into Vedic religion consisting of fire worship and eulogies to forces of nature personified as gods. The Vedic Aryans picked up, slowly and steadily, the philosophy of theistic monism, practice in yoga, worship of Paśupati Śiva, Mother Goddess, idols and phallic figures of liṅga and yoni, use of Tantric diagrams, etc. from the original inhabitants of Indus valley and such mixture of these two cultures appeared as Hinduism which contains such elements of both the types even now.

Śaiva monism was thus picked up by Vedic priests from the yogins of Indus Valley people. It was practised and assimilated by them in course of time, was expressed by them poetically in some later portions of Ṛgveda (X-90, 125) and also in *Śata-rudra* section of Yajurveda (Vaj-xvi). It appeared afterwards as the monistic philosophy of Vedic Upaniṣads. Such philosophy came under the influence of Buddhism and was consequently interpreted according to the theory of *Vivarta* which is nearly the same theory of non-existentialism as built by Vijñānavāda and Śūnya-vāda, but is expressed in a Vedic style. Such developments in India resulted in a gradual

decay and disturbance in the traditions of teaching and learning of the highly theistic and absolutely monistic theories and practices of Śaiva monism, come down from generation to generation. In fact Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkarāchārya had adopted Buddhist methods of discussing philosophic problems just for the purpose of defeating the Buddhist logicians in debates and discussions. But their followers did not take such hints and did not care to take into consideration some Tantric works like *Saundarya lahari*, *Subhagodaya*, *Prapañcasāra* Tantra etc. composed by the same religious leaders. Such tendency earned for them the epithet of ***Pracchanna Bauddhas*** or Crypto Buddhists. Śaivism of Kashmir presented much more adequate logical arguments to silence all Buddhist or Crypto-Buddhist thinkers and established a theistic type of absolute monism. It developed such philosophy of supreme theistic monism in both its aspects of theory and practice and systematized its theology and ritual leaving no stone unturned in the field of spiritual philosophy and removing all doubts about the nature of the exact reality of the existence around us.

The school of Parādvaita philosophy carried ahead the tradition of its teaching and learning through unbroken chains of preceptors and disciples for thousands of years but was not written down clearly as a school of philosophy just to save it from falling into the hands of unworthy practitioners who would have misued it, as did the Asura type of Aryans in the hoary past. When its oral traditions, decreasing gradually in strength and dimension, came nearly to a close with the advancement of the age of Kali, Lord Śiva sent down three great Yogins to this world for the purpose of the reorientation of the system of Śaivism. Amardaka, out of them, taught Śaivism through a view point of diversity and Śrīnātha adopted a view of unity in diversity in his teachings. Trymbakāditya taught Śaivism through a view point of absolute unity. He appeared at Kailasa mountain and was initiated in Śaiva monism by sage Durvāsas. His sixteenth descendent, Saṅgamāditya, visited Kashmir in the eighth century and settled permanently in the Valley. Kashmiris were already highly advanced in learning, thinking and writing in several

academic fields. They took up the monistic Śaivism and carried it to the highest peek of academic evolution. They discovered ***Trika Āgamas*** of monistic Śaivism. Vasugupta discovered ***Śivasūtra***. Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa attained great success in the study and practice of Śaiva monism. He achieved high popularity on account of his wonderful success in the attainment of spiritual powers. He composed Spandakārikā on the principle of ***Spanda***, discovered by Vasugupta, his teacher. Śomānanda, the fifth degree descendent in the line of Sangamāditya, wrote the first philosophic treatise, under the title ***Śivadṛṣṭi***, on Śaiva monism. His disciple, Utpaladeva, gave refinement to such philosophy and carried it to perfection by writing several works like ***Īśvara-pratyabhijñā, Siddhitrayī*** etc. Such authors appeared in the ninth century. Abhinavagupta appeared in the tenth century and continued to write at least up to the first quarter of the eleventh century. He systematized the theological aspect of the Śaiva monism and threw sufficient and clear light on the Śaiva Yoga and the elaborate ritual of the Trika system of Śaiva monism in his ***Tantrāloka, Tantrasāra, Parātriśikā-vivaraṇa*** and ***Mālinī-vijaya-vārtika.*** On the side of the theory of Śaiva monism, he wrote detailed commentaries on the important works of Somānanda and Utpaladeva. His word is final on the interpretation of both the theory and the practice of Śaivism of Kashmir. He was followed by authors of secondary importance who wrote either commentaries or text-books for beginners and such tradition is still living in Kashmir. An ancient tradition of writing philosophic hymns also continued in the Valley. Such poetical works are very helpful in grasping the essence of the theoretical and practical aspects of the subject.

None among such authors of Śaiva monism, or for that matter, no philosopher of any school of Indian thought, cared to pay any attention to the socio-political matters of the Indian nation. Manu was the only ancient and prominent thinker of India who took ***Rājadharma*** as the foundation of all the ***dharmas*** of the four castes. But later writers of philosophy did not show any interest in such problems of society. They took them as topics of other subjects like medicine, agriculture, animal husbandry, industry, art,

handicraft etc. and thought them to be out side the field of philosophy. They accepted *Bhagavadgitā* as an authority on spiritual philosophy but did not feel interested in its political philosophy, nor did they take any such lesson from the actual life history of lord Kṛṣṇa. Such an attitude towards life has been an invisible effect of the monkish philosophies of Buddhism and Jainism on the head and heart of Indian people. Such effect of the monkish attitude towards life has been one of the prominent causes of the down-fall of India and Hindu nation and it has been the basic seed of all the wordly humility and misery that we have been bearing for the last one thousand years. We can not at all succeed to establish *Rāmarājya* in the country so long as we do not build a close relation between our philosophic ideals and practical problems of life and society. A suitable political and administrative system is essentially needed for such purpose.

Durvāsas, the originator of Śaiva monism, appeared before a young scholar of Vārāṇasī in 1919/20 and initiated him in the highest type of Śaivayoga Such scholar, named Vaidyanāth Shāstrī Varkale, became a wandering monk in young age and attained a direct realization of the principles and doctrines of Śaiva monism through his intuitional revelation. Having been a patriot and a political thinker from his boyhood, he tried to combine the socio-political and spiritual problems of life and wrote some works on Śaiva monism and political science from a fresh view-point and his views can be taken as a sort of Neo Śaivism. His works appeared in print under his pen name Amṛtavāgbhava Āchārya. His philosophic works are *Ātma-vilāsa, Viṃśatikā-sāstra* and *Siddhamahārahasya.* His works on political science are *Rāṣṭrāloka, Saṅkrānti-Pañca-daśi* and *Rāṣṭra-sañjivana-bhāṣya.*

Śaiva monism, as introduced briefly in the previous pages, is available in its fully evolved form in Sanskrit. But even people knowing Sanskrit cannot grasp its essence without having a thorough mastery over the method of Indian philosophic writing. Most of the Sanskrit scholars of Indian philosophy cannot digest Śaiva monism because of their higher interest in, and respect for, the Advaita Vedānta of Saṅkara. Besides, Śaiva monism contains so much of subtle

thinking and so fine an analysis of the higher aspects of the truth that only some very few such scholars of Sanskrit, who may not, on one hand, be prejudiced against any convincing theory that does not agree with the *Vedāntavāda* of Saṅkarācharya, and, on the other hand, may be in a position to put in sufficient effort in its study, can be found in the country. Monistic Śaivism attained its perfect evolution by the first quarter of the eleventh century, but remained more or less secluded and confined to the valley of Kashmir. It did not spread in any other big centres of Sanskrit learning like Vārāṇasī, Darbhaṅgā, Navadvīp, Jagannāthapurī, Tirupati, Pune etc. Another fact about Śaiva monism is the bestowal of the divine grace by Lord Śiva on a being. Only such a being develops taste and interest in it, on whom Lord Śiva becomes gracious. Thus says Abhinavagupta about such fact :

Ketakī-kusuma-saurabhe bhṛśaṃ
Bhṛnga eva rasiko na makṣikā;
Bhairavīya-paramādvayārcane
Ko'pi rajyati Maheśa-coditaḥ. (M.V.V. 2-151)

Research scholars in Indian plains and the South have, of late, developed interest in its study and have produced certain research works on it. But they have not so far cared to correct the mistakes committed by some pioneer research scholars like J.C. Chatterjee and Dr. K.C. Pandey. Sri S.N. Dāsgupta did not live to write anything on Śaiva monism of the North. Dr. Rādhākrishnan did not study the works like *Īśvarapratya-bhijñā-vimarśinī* and *Tantrāloka*. Research scholars of the present age depend more on a defective work on it and do not try to learn it from better works. Such defective work is the *Pratyabhijñāhṛdayam* of Kṣemarāja. A far better work to start with is *Paramārthasāra* of Abhinavagupta. Such scholars do not very often try to wash off the wrong impressions imbibed from Kṣemarāja and also from the pioneer research scholars. Some of them, who try to study *Īśvanra pratyabhijñā*, do so with the help of *Bhāskarī*. They do not at all catch the mistakes committed by Bhāskara-kaṇṭha.

any restriction based on their caste, creed, sex, etc. An unprejudiced thirst for learning the truth and devotion to the Lord are the only two conditions for initiation in Śaivism. There is no doubt in the fact that on certain points these schools of Śaivism agree with the Upaniṣadic Vedānta. But that can not prove their Vedic origin or character, because all schools of spiritual philosophy do have some mutual agreements on some points and topics. Śaivism agrees with Buddhism on many points. Hinduism and Islam, two mutually conflicting religions, do have an agreement on many points. Such mutual agreements cannot prove any mutual identity. Śaivism is therefore definitely an Āgamic philosophy, while the six *Darśanas* of Brahmanic Hinduism are basically Vedic schools of thought.

With the advance of the age of Kali, certain Tantric practitioners started to indulge in misuse of Tantric rites through some practices of black magic that earned a bad name for Tantrism. Such bad name of Tantrism is one deterent factor which does not allow Vedic scholars of Sanskrit to develop interest in a thorough study of Śaiva monism. A thorough study of Kashmir Śaivism, the highest and the best one among all Tāntric systems of philosophy, can wash such blemish of Tantrism and can elevate its position to the highest level in respect and honour. The works intended to be published on the subject are aimed at such purpose as well. These will surely be of a lot of help to scholars not knowing Sanskrit and not acquainted with the Indian method of philosophic studies, in understanding Śaiva monism and in realizing the greatness of Tāntrism.

It is no doubt a fact that Śaiva monism, like other schools of Indian philosophy, has not formally discussed in detail the problem of evil in the world. Such problem was once raised strongly by Lord Buddha in the sixth century B.C. It is being raised by scholars at present as well. Somānanda raised the point in *Śivadṛṣṭi* (I-11, 12). He explained the evil briefly as a mere reflectional show in the divine and blissful play of extroversion of the Godhead of the Absolute. Why did God create the evil at all ? Answer to such problem can, in his view, be found in the playfulness of the nature of God.

Since the phenomenal creation is a play, the problem of evil does not arise at all, because everything is fair in a play. Besides, nothing is good or evil by itself. It is the thinking about it that gives it the colour of goodness or evilness. When every thing is seem as Śiva, even the painful evil becomes bliss. Thus says Utpaladeva in his *Śivastotrāvali*.

Duḥkhanyapi sukhāyante viṣamapyamṛtāyate ;
Mokṣāyate ca saṃsāro yatra mārgaḥ sa Śāṅkaraḥ.
(S-St., 20-22)

Had there been no evil in the phenomenal play of God, there would not have been any good even, because both are the results of a comparative evaluation and are based on the sense of their mutual relativity, imposed on them by finite beings dwelling in Māyā. When an aspirant enters the state of Vidyā, even the evil becomes blissful for him. The part played by a villain in a drama is very often more attractive and amusing than that played by a hero. The view of Śaiva monism does not see anything as comparatively evil or good, but sees every thing as perfectly all blissful. The Vedāntic and the Buddhist view to see all good and all evil as false like dreams and as some mere apparent phenomena appearing on the basis of ignorance, has not been accepted by Śaiva thinkers, because such views do not stand the test of logic and psychology based on the intuitional experiences of yogins. Since all such phenomena are the reflections of the powers of the infinite consciousness, these must have an absolutely real existence in such consciousness. That is the assertion of Śaiva monism.

The work in hand deals comprehensively with the historical development of the subject. It can satisfy the needs of such students of several Indian Universities who take up the subject at the level of M.A. examination in Śanskrit or Indian philosophy. The author intends to bring out some more works on the subject. The next work shall come out under the title "Specific Doctrines of Kashmir Śaivism". It will throw light on such principles of Indian philosophy which have either not been touched at all or to

which due justice has not been done in other schools of thought. The third work shall be devoted to the comparative study of Kashmir Śaivism and the fourth one to its typical Kashmirian origin and character. Some very important chapters of the previous work, 'Aspects of Kashmir Śaivism', shall have to be incorporated in the work No. 3 in the group, because that work would remain incomplete without such incorporation. These four works on Kashmir Śaivism shall cover nearly every important topic that a curious scholar would like to know about the history and the philosophy of Kashmir Śaivism. A few chapters in these works shall discuss the practical aspect of the theology and ritual of the Trika system, but a comprehensive work on such aspect of Śaiva monism shall remain yet to be written in English. The author has an intension to write one more book on some critical problems not discussed in the four books mentioned above. But even after that a fully detailed work on the theology and ritual of Kashmir Śaivism shall remain to be written. It shall be a colossal work demanding suficient time and labour. Lord Śiva alone knows as to who will be fortunate to write such a work and when would it appear in print.

Many wrong conceptions, set afloat by certain great resaerch scholars of the present age, require immediate correction. For instance (i) ***Āgama***, ***Spanda*** and ***Pratyabhijñā*** are being taken as three sub-schools of Kashmir Śaivism, which is not correct. ***Spanda*** is that intrinsic character of the absolute reality, the self of every being, which is to be realized by an aspirant by the means of ***Pratyabhijñā*** or self-recognition to be brought about through yogic practices prescribed in accordance with ***Āgamas***, the scriptural works on Śaivism. Different sets of texts deal with them without ptesenting any mutual disagreement on any principles or doctrines. These are thus the essential and integral elements of one and the same school of thought.

(ii) ***Kula***, ***Trika*** and ***Krama*** are being correlated with the so called three 'sub schools' of Kashmir Śaivism. ***Kula*** and ***Trika*** are, no doubt, two different systems of practice prescribed in Śaivism, but neither of them can be strictly bound to any of such 'sub-schools'. As for ***Krama***, it is not

at all any independent system of practical Śaivism, but is an integral part and parcel of both Trika and Kula systems. It is a method that forms an essential element in the practice of the *Śāktopāya* of the *Trika* system (T.A. IV 122 to 179; T.S. pp. 28 to 30). Twelve *Kālīs* of the *Krama* method are included even in the practice of *Śāmbhavopāya* of that system (T.A. III 249 to 254). These have been discussed as playing a prominent role in the *Dhyānayoga* of the *Āṇavopāya* of the Trika system (T.A. V—21 to 27) as well as in the practice of *Cakrodaya* (T.A. VII). *Krama*, being thus an integral item of Trika system, has not been counted as an independent system in any of the scriptural passages dealing with the topic concerned (T.A.V. vol. I, pp. 48, 49 and P. Tr. V. p. 92).

(iii) The easy new path of Kashmir Śaivism is the path of *Trikayoga* assisted by *bhakti* and correct understanding. It is not the path of mere intellectual knowledge, as understood by many scholars. Being free from physical torture, starvation of senses and suppression of emotions, it is far easier than several ancient Brahmanic and monkish paths of practice.

(iv) Utpaladeva was neither a son of Somānanda, nor the father of Lakṣmaṇagupta, as is being understood by scholars. Such description of their relation is based merely on *Putrakadīkrā*, a ritual rite that raises a disciple to the position of a son.

(v) Kṣemarāja, a disciple of Abhinavagupta, was a person different from Kṣemagupta, his cousine.

(vi) *Tantra-vaṭa-dhānikā* is the work of some Abhinava gupta-viśeṣa, most probably one of the cousins of the great teacher.

(vii) *Parātriśika-laghu-vṛtti* is not the work of Abhinavagupta. Some later scholar composed it and ascribed it to the great teacher, just to raise its status.

(viii) Kashmir Śavism is not a Śaivite variety of Advaita Vedānta, as believed by some scholars because :

(1) It is cent per cent Āgamic in its character. (2) It refutes the *Vivarta* theory of Advaita Vedanta. (3) It accepts *Māya* as the divine power and the intrinsic character of Brahman, but not at all as His *upādhi*. (4) The elaborate

system of Śaivite *sādhana* is not known to Śankarites even now. (5) Most of the Śaiva teachers were house holders and not monks. (6) Śaivism accepts both, enjoyment and liberation, as its fruits and as essential aims of life. (7) It takes supression of emotions and instincts as harmful and recommends, in stead, their gradual sublimation. (8) Taking a pragmatic view of life, Śaivism does not adopt any negative attitude towards world. (9) It takes *Advaita Vadānta* as a theory that comes very close to Buddhist nihilism. (10) Important authors of Kashmir Śaivism do neither refer to any teachers of Advaita Vedanta nor quote passages from their works. (11) *Śankaradigvijaya*, being mere poetry based much more or fiction than on facts, is not at all dependable. *Śankaravijaya* of Anantānanda-giri is sufficiently dependable. (12) The account of Śankara's Kashmir visit is therefore highly doubtful. (13) As authenticated by an ancient grave-inscriprion, the present day Śankarāchārya temple at Srinagar did not bear such name before the Dogara rule in Kashmir. (14) There was no trace of the *Sannyasa* system of Sankarāchārya in Kashmir before the rule of Dogara kings. (15) Most of the ancient Kashmirian Vedāntins adhered to Vaiṣṇavite theism and not to *Vivartism* of Saṇkarāchārya.

(ix) Some technical terms of *Advaita Vedānta* and *Saivasiddhānta* are wrongly being used as synonyms of some parallel terms of Kashmir Śaivism, resulting in confusion.

(x) Neo-Śaivism of Āchārya Amṛta-vāgbhava is not at all being taken notice of by such modern scholars.

CHAPTER I

The Saivism of Kashmir

Though basically pre-Aryan and pre-Vedic in its origin, Śaivism crept by stages into the Vedic religion and became one of the most vital elements of Hinduism by the age of Epics and Purāṇas.

Though the Vedic rituals of the ancient Hindus of Kashmir had been predominantly Vaiṣṇavite in character, the worship of Śiva and Śakti also had become very popular in this land right from the prehistoric ages. There is even now a good number of prehistoric Śaiva shrines in Kashmir, for instance, *Amareśvara Vijayeśvara*, *Sureśvara*, *Harśeśvara*, *Mahādeva*, *Bhūteśvara*, *Haramukheśvara*, etc. Saivism has always and everywhere been Śāktic in character. Therefore there are many prehistoric shrines dedicated to Śakti, the Universal Mother Goddess. The most important among these are: *Tripurasundarī* in Kulgam, *Trisandhyā* in Anantnag, *Jvālāmuktī* in Trāl; *Śārikā* at Srinagar, *Śāradā* in Teetwal, *Rājñī* in Ganderbal, *Śailaputrī* at Baramulla and so on.

It appears that ancient Naga tribes may have inhabited the borders of the valley when it was a lake. Later, when it was cleared of water by Kaśyapa and was colonized by Indo-Aryans under his leadership, hordes of *Piśāca* and *Darda* tribes, belonging to some less civilized and partly barbaric Aryan stock, invaded the valley from the north. The *Nāga* leaders mediated between the Indo-Aryan settlers and these *Piśāca* invaders and both the tribes came to terms and settled in the valley. This is the historical conclusion that can be drawn from the accounts of ancient Kashmir as given in the

Nilamata Purāṇa. Those Nagas may have, most probably, been Śaivas by faith and their influence on these settlers in Kashmir may have been one of the chief causes of the predominance of the worship of Śiva and Śakti in Kashmir in the most ancient times. The dominating popularity of Śiva and Śākti can have been imported to ancient Kashmir by *Khashas* of Kishtawar and Chamba who must have colonized the valley and who can have given it the name "Khashameru" which can have changed into the word Kashmir.

The religious beliefs of that most ancient Śaivism are mostly mythological in character. Śiva is the greatest of all gods and his abode is a superior heaven called *Śivaloka*. He, however, resides along with his spouse, Parvati, on the Kailāsa also. He is present at all the sacred places dedicated to him and is always ready to help his devotees in all respects at all places. He grants them boons for worldly and heavenly attainments and exercises his grace on them to liberate them from thier ignorance and consequent transmigration. When liberated, they get access to his divine abode and enjoy an eternal bliss in his constant vicinity. *Pārvati* is his constant companion and is always worshipped with him. *Bhairavas* and *Gaṇas* are his divine assistants and are often worshipped on important festivals like *Śivarātri*. The modes of worship are generally the same as those of all other types of idol worship, the only main difference being in the sacrificial offerings. Preparations of *bhang*, meat, fish, etc., and even wine are very often offered to these *Bhairavas* and sometimes to Śiva and Pāravatī also. Beasts are sometimes sacrificed to them. This ancient Śaivism in Kashmir is nearly the same as that prevalent in all other parts of India.

The Śaivism for which Kashmir is spacially famous is the monistic Śaiva philosophy of the Tryambaka school and that philosophy is the most valuable contribution of Kashmir to Indian culture. That philosophy had basically originated in some trans-Himalayan area near Kailāsa in about the 4th. century, A.D. Its advent to Kashmir took place in the 8th. century and it developed fully in the next two centuries in that very land.

The most ancient school of Śaivism is ***Pāśupatism*** which rose out of the beliefs of the Indus Valley people and spread in course of time as a discipline of some orders of Śaiva monks in the whole country in the early centuries of the Christian era. It is a pluralistic school of thought believing in a mutually distinct existence of God, soul and matter. Its practice consists of a very austere and severe discipline inviting public contempt. *Kāpālikas* living in cremation grounds are an advanced type of Pāśupatas. Their discipline, in the words of Abhinavagupta, is full of torturing practices:

"दक्षिणं रौद्रकर्माढ्यम् ।"

Dakṣiṇaṃ raudrakarmāḍhyam. (T.A. 37-27)

Śaivasiddhānta, a popular faith in Tamil Nadu, claims prehistoric origin in some ancient āgamas named "*Nānmurai*" which, according to tradition, were swallowed up by the ocean in a flood, along with the sages who possessed them and the mountain peaks where they lived. Another tradition maintains that some saints of a Śaiva school established at *Mantra Kāleśvara* temple on Godāvarī, by some teachers in the lines of Amardaka and others were invited to far South by a Chola king named Rajendra, and they preached there the *Śaivasiddhānta*. The third and the more authentic source of the Siddhānta sect lies in some Sanskrit Śaiva *āgamas* belonging to the early centuries of the Christian era. The fundamental theory of Śaivasiddhānta is a kind of dualism, or rather pluralism. Though Yoga and *Jñāna* have been accepted in it as the highest means of liberation, yet more importance has been given in actual practice to devotional and ritualistic worship of Śiva in temples. *Śaivasiddhānta* is, in the opinion of Abhinavagupta, overburdened with ritual:

"सिद्धान्ते कर्म बहुलम् ।"

"Siddhānte Karmabahulam" (T.A. 37-27)

Another sect of Śaivism, which also is a popular faith of masses, is the *Vīra-śaivism* of Karṇāṭaka. Though a special type of qualified monism, it lays greater stress on unity and

terms its theory as *Sāmarasyavāda*. The sect developed in its persent form in the twelfth century, but the tradition of its practice is sufficiently ancient. It must have existed as a special system of discipline among some ancient orders of Śaiva monks. It also is sufficiently ritualistic in character in its practice. The Vedāntic Śaivism of Śrīkaṇṭha professes to teach a monistic theory of transformation (*Abheda-pariṇāma-vāda*) which maintains that the divine power of God gets transformed into the phenomenal existence. It resembles *viśiṣṭādvaita* of Rāmānuja.

Kashmir Śaivism is a philosophy which is quite different in many respects from all these schools of the Śaivism of the South. It adopts a pragmatic approach towards all the problems of philosophy on both its sides of theory and practice.

It is neither rigidly idealistic like the Advaita Vedānta and Buddhism, nor so realistic as the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika or Sāṃkhya. The universe, according to it, is neither like a mirage, nor like the child of a barren woman. It is a reality for all practical purposes. But it is not an absolute reality, because it is a creation. It exists in the absolute reality in the form of pure, limitless and all containing consciousness. That conseiousness, called *Parama-Śiva*, is always vibrating inwardly and outwardly by its basic nature and its vibrative nature is called ***Spanda***. ***Spanda*** is a sort of a stir of consciousness. The phenomenal universe, which exists in ***Parama-Śiva*** in the form of pure consciousness, appears, by stages, in its phenomenal aspect in the manner of a reflection appearing in a mirror. A mirror bears the reflections of outward objects, but the mirror of pure consciousness bears the reflections of its own powers. Siva's powers to create, to preserve and to absorb the universe and also to conceal as well as to reveal His nature of absolute Godhead get manifested at His playful, independent and unrestrictible will and that will is the essence of His Godhead. Had He not possessed such nature, He would not have been God. He may have or may not have existed at all in that case, because His existence could neither have been challenged nor established by any one. Universe is nothing but an objective manifestation of His divine powers. He is a reality

and His powers are His essence. Therefore His powers are also a reality and so are the manifestations of those powers a reality. He consists of an ever-pure and limitless consciousness which is full upto brim with Godly powers and does not undergo any change even while the activities of creation, etc. are going on. This is His static aspect in which he is called Śiva. The aspect of the manifestations of His Godhead is called His Śakti. Both are merely two aspects of one and the same absolute, all powerful and independent reality. This interpretation of the Hindu monism is the new thought contributed to Indian Philosophy by the Śaiva philosophers of Kashmir. It can be termed as Hindu pantheism, through it is much different from the pantheism of the Western and the Vaiṣṇavite thinkers; because Śiva in it is an absolute and abstract reality, rather than a personal God and can be realised in His highest aspect as the pure and potent consciousness transcending all phenomena of gross and subtle character.

Kashmir Śaivism accepts no restrictions based on caste, creed, sex, etc. Every curious and devout aspirant can have access to it both theoretically and practically. It gives more importance to practice than to bookish knowledge and logical discussions. In its theory it comes closer to the theism of ***Bhagavadgītā*** and not to the nihilism of ***Nagarjuna***. In practice it does not prescribe the 'profession' of monks but advises to live the life of a householder and to practise, side by side, Śaiva yoga for the sake of self-realisation. It does not advocate ***sannyāsahood***. It prohibits the use of all sorts of saintly symbols like red or white robes, matted hair, ashes, etc. It avoids suppression of one's emotions and instincts and advocates a path of their sublimation. It does not ignore the worldly and heavenly aims of life consisting of objective enjoyments. It rather advocates a path aimed at both ***bhukti*** (enjoyment) and ***mukti*** (liberation), both of which can be pursued side by side. It lays emphasis on devotion and that makes its practice quite sweet and practicable. It is, in this way, quite pragmatic in its approach towards its practice also.

These Śaiva philosophers did not at all try to disturb the age old religion of the masses. They advocated the practice

of the then established Brahmanic Hinduism based on Vedas, ***Smṛtis*** and tradition. They also advocated the practice of Śiva worship in temples, at sacred places and in homes. In addition to these outward aspects of religion, they preached the practice of Śiva-yoga in accordance with the ***Trika*** and ***Kula*** systems of Tantric practice. The ***Kula*** system advocates the use of five ***makāras*** prevalent in the Tantric sects of the left hand systems. It can be practised only by some heroic practitioners capable to keep their minds constantly concentrated on the mystic formulae and also on the deity worshipped by means of such offerings and services sweet to senses.

One has to keep his mind concentrated in meditation while enjoying outwardly all such means of sense pleasure. Indulgence in all such sensual activities is not to be allowed to disturb the meditation of an aspirant. Initiation in this path is therefore granted only to such persons who can easily and spontaneously control their mind and senses. When an aspirant can succeed thoroughly in controlling the effects of such powerful objects and means of sense pleasure and in keeping his mind immersed in meditation while indulging in their use, he can afterwards attain such a psychological state in which he can constantly enjoy the divine bliss of his unity with ***Parama-Śiva*** even while doing all the wordly activities. He shall not then require any formal practice in a secluded place under any special discipline for that purpose. An aspirant gets access to the limitless and divine self-bliss through the path of worldly enjoyment by the means of such Tantric practice.

Trika system has been much more prevalent among the Śaivas of Kashmir. The use of ***makāras*** is neither essentially prescribed nor totally prohibited in that system of practice. When everything is in fact the Lord Himself, what to prescribe and what to prohibit? One may make use of an object of sense pleasure or may not use it. It does not make much difference to a follower of ***Trika*** system of practice. He has to carry on his wordly activities and has to practise, side by side, a yoga in which mind is to be withdrawn from objective activities of all ideation and forming of conceptions. It is to be kept absolutely still like the flame of a lamp at a place where

wind does not blow. Withdrawn from all objective activities, it turns towards the subject, that is, the real self and gets merged into it by stages. Such merger results in an intuitive realization of the real self which is nothing else but ***Parama-Śiva*** Himself. This is the ***Śāmbhavopāya*** of ***Trikā*** system and is known as *Icchā-yoga*. It should not however be confused either with Zen-yoga of Japanese Buddhism or with the yoga of Maheśa yogin, both of which can lead only to a dreamless state and can not reveal one's divine nature.

One who is not efficient enough to practise this yoga has to perform a practice in impressing on his mind that he is in fact ***Parama-Śiva***; every thing is he himself; he is in every thing and every thing is in him; all this is the manifestation of his own powers, and so on. This is the ***Śākta-upāya*** of ***Trika*** system and is known as *Jṇāna-yoga*. When an aspirant succeeds in the practice of this yoga, he becomes fit for the practice of *Śāmbhava-yoga*.

An aspirant, not quite fit for the direct practice of this *Śākta-yoga*, has to perform its practice with the help of certain objective elements like his understanding sense, the functions of his life-force, his breath and its movement, his physical body with its nerve-centres, outward objects consisting of sounds and substances and so on. He has to concentrate his mind on an objective element and has to see it as the divine Absolute with the help of a contemplative meditation. Then he has to see a unity between the object, the Absolute and his own self. Through such a practice he becomes merged into the absolute reality and feels himself to be the Absolute for the time being. That is the *Āṇava-upāya* of the ***Trika*** system and is known as *Kriyā-yoga*. When a practitioner succeeds in its practice he becomes fit for taking up the *Śākta-yoga*.

The elements of objective meditation and mental activity attain prominence in *Āṇava-yoga*. That Yoga consists of objective meditation and *Śākta-yoga* consists of subjective contemplation. The element of knowing becomes more prominent in *Śākta-yoga*, because it consists of practices in imagining and in forming correct conceptions of the exact reality. *Śāmbhava-yoga* is free from all imaginations, con-

ceptions, contemplations and concentrations. Both the elements of mental doing and knowing are pushed to the background in its practice and the element of will to shine in one's pure being attains prominence in it. When such *Icchā-yoga* becomes perfect, the aspirant starts to have direct self-realisation without any practice of even the exercising of his will. *Śiva-yoga* at such stage is known as *Ānanda-yoga* or *Anupāya-yoga*, that is, the Yoga without any means. That is the highest stage of the Śaiva-yoga of the *Trika* system of *Sādhanā*.

CHAPTER II

Scriptural Works

Most of the schools of Hindu philosophy are based on two-fold foundations of logical reasoning and scriptural authority. While the six *darśanas* of Brahmanism draw inspirations from Vedic scriptures like Upaniṣads, the schools of Śaivism take them from Śaiva Āgamas. Though sufficient similarities in philosophic views are found between these two sets of scriptures, yet their general character, outlook on life and its problems, as well as on the discipline in theology are mutually different. Kashmir Śaivism, propounding a monistic but theistic absolutism as its essentially fundamental principle of philosophy, comes very close to Upaniṣadic monism. But it is still essentially Āgamic, rather than Vedic, in its character and outlook. It accepts the authority of Vedas in the social aspect of society, but prefers Āgamic paths for the sake of quick spiritual progress. Its special principles and doctrines of philosophy and theology are essentially based on the teachings of Śaiva Āgamas.

Śaiva Āgamas have been analysed in Kashmir Śaivism into three groups leading aspirants respectively to the spiritual planes of dualism, mono-dualism and pure monism. Twenty-eight main Āgamas of Śaivism are known in the South. These are classified into two groups of ten and eighteen called respectively as *Śiva-āgamas* and *Rudra-āgamas*. The teachers of *Śaiva-Siddhānta* take them as having been uttered respectively by Śiva in the form of five-faced Svacchandanātha and human saints who had attained perfect purity and had realised themselves as constant companions of Lord Śiva, through his wor-

ship by means of ***caryā*** (service), ***kriyā*** (formal worship), yoga (meditation) and Jñāna (knowledge). But Kashmir Śaivism recognises them as scriptures aiming at and leading to dualism and mono-dualism attainable in the states of ***Sālokya*** and ***Sāyujya*** respectively. These scriptures, in the view of Kashmir Śaivism, were uttered by Śivas and Rudras stationed respectively at the planes of dualism and monodualism.

Kashmir Śaiviśm recognizes one more group of Āgamas which is superior to both the groups mentioned above. It is the group of ***Bhairava Āgamas***. Bhairavas are divine beings stationed at the plane of monism. They see through a monistic view point and adopt it to their teachings as well. Such Āgamas are sixty-four in number and are divided into eight groups of eight each. Lists of all such Āgamas of three categories were given in a scriptural work named ***Śrīkaṇṭhi Saṃhitā***. That work is not available now, but its concerned passages have been preserved by Jayaratha by quoting them in his commentary on ***Tantrāloka*** of Abhinavagupta. Such Bhairava Āgamas are very little known in the South, but ancient practitioners of Śaiva yoga knew them as Śaṅkarāchārya refers to sixty-four tantras of Śiva in his ***Saundarya-laharī***. There was yet one more group of Śaiva scriptures which was recognized as higher in merit even to the sixty four ***Bhairava-Āgamas***. Such Āgams were six in number and those were ***Saura***, ***Bhargaśikhā*** etc. These six also formed two groups of three each and the group higher in merit is known as the group of ***Trika***, the trinity of divine scriptures. It has been recognized as the highest one in authority and merit. Consisting of the half of the six, it is known as ***Ṣaḍardha-Śāstra*** as well. The authority of these Trika Āgamas, in both the theory and the practice of Śaivism, is the highest in the views of the monistic Śaivas of Kashmir. Many of the practical doctrines of Kashmir Śaivism have been drawn not only from Bhairava Āgamas but also from those of the other two groups and passages from them have been quoted in ***Tantrāloka*** of Abhinavagupta. Somānanda also quotes them and mentions the names of their teachers in his ***Śivadṛṣṭi***. There is thus no hard and fast division between such groups of Śaiva Āgamas. Authors of Kashmir Śaivism have occasionally quoted some

passages of Upaniṣads, Bhagavadgītā and other such religio-philosophic works as well. That shows the breadth of their vision. They followed and accepted the acceptable views of all other schools of religion and philosophy, not excluding even Buddhism. But even then they proclaimed that the path prescribed in the Trika Āgamas alone can lead aspirants to definitely higher planes in spiritual ascent. As for the different Śāstras, they accept them as being correct up to certain levels in spiritual ascent and having basically been inspired by Śiva Himself.

Three Agamas of the Trika section of the six supermost scriptures, as recorded by Jayaratha in his commentary on *Tantrāloka*, are (i) *Siddhā-Tantra*, (2) *Nāmaka-Tantra* and (3) *Mālinī-Tantra*. The writer of these lines feels that the name of the second one may have been *Vāmaka-Tantra* and the letter 'na' in the word may have crept into it through some scribal mistake because 'na' and 'va' can easily be mutually confused in *Śāradā* script. Besides, scriptural works like *Vamakesvarīmata* were popularly known even upto the time of Jayaratha and Śitīkaṇṭha. As stated by Jayaratha, *Vamaka* (Nāmaka) dealt with theoretical knowledge of Śaiva monism, *Siddhā* Tantra was devoted to the practical side of the subject and *Mālinī-Tantra* discussed both. Abhinavagupta attaches the highest importance to *Mālinī Tantra* and recognizes it as the highest one in the group of three.

Mālinī Tantra must have had two parts, the previous one and the final one. At present we have only the final one named *Mālinī-Vijayottara*. The word *Uttara* suggests that there must have been a *pūrva* part as well. Abhinavagupta recognizes the *Uttara* portion of the *Malinī Tantra* as being the super-most authority on the theory and practice of Śaiva monism. *Mālinī-Vijayottara* is highly mystic in its expression. It suggests the essence of many theoritecal and practical doctrines of Kashmir Śaivism in an absolutely brief and highly mystic style.

Its couplets can hardly be understood correctly without the help of *Tantrāloka*. It deals very briefly with the highest and very fundamental principles of philosophy. The doctrines of *Śāmbhava* and *Śākta Yoga* have been discussed in it

very briefly. Though the practices of *Āṇava Yoga* have been discussed in details yet the style of such discussion is so mystic that an ordinary reader can not make out anything from it. This Āgama does not leave any stone unturned in the field of *Trikasādhanā*. But all that can be understood with the help of Tantrāloka and the commentary on it by Jayaratha who quotes the relevant passages from it in the concerned contexts. Abhinavagupta refers to one of his works named *Pūrva-Pañcikā*. It is felt that such work may have been written on that *purva* or previous portion of *Mālinī Tantra* which has been lost. The extensive *Mālinī Vijaya Vārtika* by Abhinavagupta explains in detail the doctrines dealt with briefly and mystically in the Mālinī Tantra. He referes to such work as *Mālinī-Śloka-Vārtika*. It is a highly wonderful work on Śaivism, but requires a commentary, or at least some foot-notes for the sake of clarification of the topics taken up and ideas expressed.

Some other scriptural works are also available on the subject and those are listed below:

1. *Svacchanda-Tantra*: It is the only comprehensive and extensive scriptural work of high importance on Kashmir Śaivism that is available even now. It bears a commentary by Kṣemarāja and is availabe in print in seven volumes. It deals fully with many of the practices of objective meditation and works out all details about them. It is the only scriptural text which throws sufficient light on many topics of the ritual of Kashmir Śaivism. Much of such material has been drawn by Abhinavagupta from it while composing the chapters on the ritual practices of Kashmir Śaivism in his Tantrāloka and Jayaratha goes on quoting passages from it while writing his commentary on them. A scriptural work under the name *Svacchanda* has been counted among the sixty-four *Bhairava-Āgamas*. It is probable that it may be the same as this *Svacchanda-Tantra* which is a store-house of information regarding the details of the wonderful rituals of Trika system.

2. *Netra-Tantra* also bears a commentary by Kṣemarāja. Its importance is greater in the field of the principles of theology than in those of ritual and philosophy.

3. ***Vijñāna-bhairava***, known also as ***Śivopaniṣad***, is a smaller work dealing mainly with one hundred and twelve esoteric practices in Śaiva yoga. Such practices, if grasped correctly and practised regularly, result in a quick realization of the exact nature of the real self. Besides, it throws light on some varieties of *Śāktopāya* in addition to such one hundred and twelve practices. The light thrown by it on the nature of the basic mataphysical truth in its very beginning is indeed very wonderful. It bears a detailed commentary by Śivopādhyāya and another by some Bhaṭṭa Ananda. ***Vijñānabhairava*** is said to be a chapter of the voluminous ***Rudrayāmala*** which also has been counted in the list of ***Bairava Āgamas***.

4. ***Parātriśikā*** is likewise said to be a chapter of ***Rudrayāmala***. Scholars of the present age know that work by the name ***Parātriṃśikā*** though Abhinavagupta has cleared such point beyond doubt in his extensive commentary named ***Vivaraṇa*** on it. There he says in clear terms that the name of the work is ***Triśikā*** and not ***Triṃśikā***. He says further that it is called ***Triṃśakā*** as well, but can not be called ***Triṃśikā*** at all. The ***Vivarana*** of Abhinavagupta on the text of Parātriśikā raises this work to the rank of the foremost important works on the Trika system of Śaivayoga. The language of the couplets of ***Triśikā*** is very simple but the theological content expressed by them is very profound in nature and mysterious in character. The ***Vivaraṇa*** of Abhinavagupta explains its secrets through a wonderful technique of finer and subtler philosophic thinking. Very few scholars can grasp its real purport. The difficulty in grasping it is augmented by defects in its editing. Its text is wrong at many places and punctuation is extremely deceptive. It require badly a new and correct editing which has now been done by Prof. Gurtoo.

The basic work is known as ***Anuttara Sūtra*** as well. The commentary on it discusses at length many profound principles of Śaiva philosophy as well as some highly esoteric and mysteriuos doctrines of practice in ***Śāmbhava-yoga***. It throws sufficient light on the theological background of the yoga practices in ***Mātṛkā*** and ***Mālinī*** types of ***Śāmbhavopāya*** in sufficient detail. It contains extensive discussions on many subtle topics of philosophy and theology of Śaiva monism and

the light thrown on them in it is highly remarkable. Only some such scholars and practitioners can grasp correctly the exact significance of the finer points of philosophy and theology explained by Abhinavagupta in that *Vivaraṇa*, as are highly proficient in philosophic thinking and practice in Śaiva Yoga. He says himself that only some rare persons among lacs of people may be able to make his efforts fruitful by understanding and practising the doctrines explained by him in it. Besides, he warns against deceitful teachers, pretending as masters of the subject, misleading simple people and making use of them like beasts to carry their heavy burdens and to serve them whole heartedly, and having already entrapped them by means of false propaganda.

Śivasūtra: It is, like Mālinīvijaya, a scriptural work of the highest importance, though its composition does not follow the technique and the style of other Āgamas which relate lengthy discourses between Śiva and Śakti written in verse style, mostly in ***Anuṣṭubh***, while Śivasūtra is a brief work in Sūtra form. It is avialable in three chapters. The first chapter throws lights on the metaphysics of Kashmir Śaivism, Śāmbhava-Yoga and the spontaneous self-realization aimed at by such yoga, as well as the principles of bondage and liberation. The second chapter shows as to how the results of ***Śaktopāya*** have a spontaneous rise in a yogin when the practice in Śāmhbavopāya becomes perfect. Some of such results have been described in it. Chapter III of ***Śivasūtra*** deals with the lower type of results of that yoga, known as ***Vibhūtis*** or ***Siddhis*** and describes at length the position of a ***Jivanmukta***, an aspirant who, as a resūlt of his success in Śāmbha-yoga, becomes liberated even while living in a mortal form. That is how Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara has interpreted Śivasutra in his Vārtika on it. The headings of the three chapters, as given in his commentary, are respectively ***Citprakāśasvarupa***, ***Sahaja-vidyodaya*** and ***Vibhūtispanda***. These agree with the headings of the three chapters of Spandakārikā as given in its brief commentary by Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa himself. He names them as ***Svarūpaspanda***, ***Sahajavidyodaya*** and ***Vibhūtispanda***. The ***vārtika*** of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara is based strictly on the traditional interpretation, come down to him through an unbroken line of

teachers, right from Vasugupta, the discoverer of *Śivasūtra*.

Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa was a disciple of Vasugupta and belonged to the time of king Avantivarman to which time belonged Rāmakaṇṭha also. They must have been thus younger contemporaries of Vasugupta. Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa says that Śiva-Sūtra was reavealed to Vasugupta by Lord Śiva who uttered it to him in a dream and that he collected the principle of Spanda from it.[1] Rāmakaṇṭha says that the essence of the Spanda-principle was transmitted to Vasugupta by some Siddha through his speech.[2] *Siddhādeśa* is generally of two kinds. Some *siddha* appears before a person and tells him something or he appears in a dream and imparts some knowledge through his speech. The vision of Lord Siva, either in a waking state or in a dream, is also counted as the vision of a Siddha. Therefore the teachings of Śiva at such occasions are also taken as *Siddhādeśa.* It is therefore a fact that Śivasūtra was revealed by Śiva to Vasugupta in a dream. A similar account has been given by Maheśvarānanda with regard to his composing *Mahārthamañjarī*.[3] Such Siddhādeśas do happen with devotees and practitioners of yoga. Vasugupta must have been a Śivayogin belonging to the school of Tryambaka, established in Kashmir by Saṅgamāditya in the eighth century. His surname 'Gupta' indicates that he may have appeared in the family of the ancestors of Abhinavagupta who also had settled in Kashmir in the eighth century because that is the only family of Kashmirian scholars known under the surname Gupta. Vasugupta is accepted as a *Maṭhikāguru* of the Tryambaka's school of Śaiva monism, transplanted by Saṁgamāditya in Kashmir. *Maṭhikāgurus* were such teachers of the school of Tryambaka to whom divine scriptures were revealed by Lord Śiva.

Kṣemarāja, a disciple of Abhinavagupta, appeared in the eleventh century, that is, about after two hundred years from the discovery of *Śivasūtra* by Vasugupta. He relates a story about it which says that Vasugupta was instructed by

1. Sp. Vr., p 40.
2. SP V., p.35.
3. M.M.P., p p.190-91.

Lord Siva in a dream to overturn a big rock in the foot of Mahādeva mountain by the mere touch of his hand and copy Śivasūtras inscribed on its side lying clasped with the ground. He started pushing up such rocks and lo! one of them turned up errect with its bottom side facing Vasugupta. He found the inscriptions, copied them out and the rock came down again to its previous position.[4] Lord Śiva alone knows if such story is the actual history of Śivasūtra or has developed on the basis of the imagination of some devotees of the Śaiva philosophy. Such things have never been uncommon with Indian devotees. There is even now a rock near ***Drāpahom*** which is called ***Shenkarpal*** or *Śaṅkaropal*. God knows whether such name belonged to the rock right from the 9th century or was later given to it by devotees on the basis of the story related by Kṣemarāja. No ancient writer has said anything about such story of ***Śaṅkropal***. ***Śivasūtra*** bears three big commentaries and a brief one and those are:

1. ***Śivasūtra-Vārtika*** of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara.
2. ***Śivasūtra-Vimarśinī*** of Kṣemarāja.
3. ***Śivasūtra-Vārtika*** of Varadarāja.
4. The brief commentary is ***Śivasūtra-vṛtti*** which appears to be a gist of Ksemarāja's ***Vimaraśinī.***
5. Śivasūtra Vārtika of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara contains another Vṛtti on it which is given there in the form of foot-notes, but is sufficiently helpful in understanding the sūtras of Śiva as well as the Vārtikas of Bhāskara.

The writer of these lines has also prepared a commentary on Śivasūtra under the title Śivasūtra-Vivṛti. It is composed in Sanskrit as well as in Hindi. It is going to be published very soo . An English translation of Sivasūtra with explanatory notes etc. is also to be prepared in the near future by a student of the author of ***Vivṛti***.

4. Sp B., pp. 1-2.

CHAPTER III

Spandasastra of Bhatta Kallata

Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa is the most prominent of all the early authors of Kashmir Śaivism. Kalhaṇa praises him as a great *siddha* descended to the world for the uplift of people.[1] *Trika-āgamas*, the scriptural works of the Śaivism of Tryambaka's school, were revealed to its still earlier teachers. *Śivasūtra*, a brief work in aphoristic style, is also counted among *āgamas*. It was revealed to Vasugupta, a teacher of the school of Tryambaka who may have probably belonged to the family of Atrigupta. No other work from his pen has so far been discovered. Tradition ascribes to him the authorship of *Vāsavi* commentary on Bhagavadgītā. A manuscript in fragments, under the title *Vāsavi*, was procured a few years back at Srinagar by the Research Department of Jammu and Kashmir State. It is now the property of Kashmir University. The writer of these lines has seen the manuscript, though not thoroughly. It agrees on many points with the Rāmakaṇṭha's commentary on the Gītā. But it contains the text of the Gītā quite in accordance with the southern recention and not the northern recension which was prevalent at that time in Kashmir. The southern recension, which has now become the standard text of the Gītā throughout the whole world, was imported to Kashmir by Kashmirian Pandits who, having previously fled from the valley, were later recalled and rehabilitated there by a highly generous ruler named Zainulābadīn in the later part of the fifteenth century. Therefore

1. R.T., V-66.

authenticity of the manuscript is yet to be established. It requires a research oriented thorough study which has not been done so far. If it may be the real *Vāsavi*, then the text of the Gītā must have been added to it by some copyist and the original manuscript may have contained the commentary alone, written chapterwise; otherwise it can be a forged *Vāsavī* and may have been built by some later Pandit on the basis of Rāmakaṇṭha's commentary. Vasugupta was doubtlessly a great yogin. He may have been so intensely interested in the practice of the blissful experience of self-realization through *Śāmbhava* yoga that he may not have cared to do any remarkable academic activity. He has been accepted as the originator of ***Spanda-Śāstra***. As noted by Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa, it is he who collected the nectar of Spanda philosophy of Śaivism which was lying hidden in the ocean of *Śivasūtra*.[2] The term 'spanda' is available neither in the main āgamas of the Trika system nor in Śivasūtra. It has been used for the first time in such sense in ***Paraśambhumahimnastava*** by sage Durvāsas and afterwards in the *Spanda-kārikā* of Bhaṭṭa Kallṭa. The term Spanda was adopted by Vasugupta and the philosophic principle denoted by it was also brought to light for the first time by him. He taught that principle under such term to his disciples and Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa among them built it as *Spanda-Śāstra* in his *Spandakārikā*, explained it in his *vṛtti* called *Spanda-sarvasva* and analysed it further in his other works which have not come down to us. The words "*Spandāmṛtam dṛbdham*," used by him in *Spanda-sarvasva*, are meant to say that the Spanda philosophy was collected and knit together by Vasugupta. The root *dṛbhi* means "*granthana*," that is, to bind together or to knit together. It does not mean to write, as has been said by Dr. Pandey. A book is called a *grantha* because its leaves are bound together.

Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa, having become very prominent in the time of Avantivarman, flourished in the ninth century A.D. He was an elder contemporary of philosophers like Bhaṭṭa Pradyumna, Somānanda, Utpaladeva and Rāmakaṇṭha, all of whom flourished in the time of the same ruler of Kashmir.

2. S.S., concluding verse no. 2.

Vasugupta may have been about twenty-five years elder to Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa. The Spanda principle appeared thus roughly in 825 A.D. and developed as Spanda-śāstra in the form of Spandakārikā near about 850 A.D. The *kārika* was composed by Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa and not by Vasugupta himself, as said wrongly by Kṣemarāja in the eleventh century. The most authentic and reliable evidence about such fact is that of Rāmakaṇṭha who also belonged to the time of Avantivarman. While explaining the fifty second couplet of Spandakārikā, he mentions Vasugupta as the preceptor of the author of the work in hand and not as its author. The author pays homage to the verbal teachings of his preceptor through that couplet and Rāmakaṇṭha explains the word ***gurubhāratīm*** as the verbal teachings imparted by the preceptor Vasugupta. He writes thus:

गुरोर्वसुगुप्ताभिधानस्य भारतीं वाचं स्तौमि ।
Guror Vasuguptābhidhānasya bhāratīm Vācaṃ staumi.
(Sp. vi., p. 165)

He introduces the couplet through the words given below:

निजगुरुसरस्वतीस्तवनद्वारेणाह —
Nija-guru-sarasvatī-stavana-dvāreṇāha. (*Ibid*)

The couplet concerned is thus a part and parcel of Spandakārikā and has been composed by the author of the Kārikā himself. It has not been added to it by any commentator. Other commentators like Utpala Vaiṣṇava and even Kṣemarāja himself accept it as a couplet of the Kārikā itself. The author of the Kārikā is thus the disciple of Vasugupta and not Vasugupta himself and such disciple is Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa.

Another reliable evidence to such fact is that of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara who was the seventh teacher in the line of Vasugupta and to whom had come down the knowledge of both, the principles of Spanda-śāstra and its history through an unbroken line of preceptors. He may be the same Bhāskara whose name has been mentioned by Abhinavagupta among

his teachers. He may have therefore belonged to the earlier part of the tenth century. He says in clearer terms that Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa explained the first three chapters of Śivasūtra through his *Spanda-sūtras* and discussed its fourth part through his *Tattvārtha-cintāmaṇi*.[3] Many couplets of Spandakārikā are mentioned very often as Spanda-sūtra. Even Kṣemaraja mentions them like that.

The third reliable evidence is that of Utpala Vaiṣṇava whose commentary on Spandakārikā is the most scholarly one. He also preceded Abhinavagupta. Being a great scholar, knowing many śāstras, quoting passages not only from Śaiva works, but also from *Pāñcarātra saṃhitās* and many other *śāstras* and supplying information on many other points like some other works of Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa, a work by Siddhanātha and so on, he would never have missed a great author like Abhinavagupta if he had succeeded him. He says in still clearer terms that Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa explained the philosophy of Spanda through his *anuṣṭubha* couplets numbering (round about) fifty.[4] The fifty third couplet in the text followed by him says clearly that it was Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa who versified the mystic philosophy of Spanda after having learnt it from his preceptor Vasugupta[5] who had realized it directly. By the word 'versified' (ślokayāmāsa) it is meant to say that Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa composed the verses of Spandakārikā. Utpala mentions the name of Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa not less than eight times.

It appears from the views of Utpala Vaiṣṇava that he was a Vaiṣṇavite but had respect for Śaivism. Passages quoted profusely by him from the *Pāñcarātra* texts have given him the name Vaiṣṇava. It is just to differentiate him from the great Utpaladeva that scholars have added the word Vaiṣṇava to his name. It is very remotely possible that he, having been an ardent Vaiṣṇavite, may have afterwards switched over to Śaivism by means of the performance of Śaivite *dikṣā* assisted by the rite called *Lingodhāra* which is a must in such cases as prescribed in *Tantrasāra* (p. 170) and *Tantrāloka* chapter 22

3. S.S.V., p. 3.
4. S. Pr., p. 1.
5. S. Pr. last page.

because he betrays his staunch faith in Pāñcarātra system and appears to be trying his best to elevate it to the level of spanda *śāstra*.

Kṣemarāja, appearing in the eleventh century, and belonging to the line of the disciples of Somānanda, appears to have been highly prejudiced against Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa whom be mentions in singular[6] number and whose views he criticises now and then, sometimes without naming him, though Abhinavagupta mentions his name with great respect as "Śrīmat-Kallaṭanāthaḥ.[7] It is Kṣemarāja who ascribed the authorship of Spandakārikā to Vasugupta. In order to put weight to his opinion, he explained the word "gurubhāratī" as the great *Parā-vāṇi*. Such an explanation is highly far fetched in character.

It appears that a controversy about the authorship of *Spandakārikā* had already risen some time before Kśemarāja started to write. It rose probably on the basis of academic jealousy between the later disciples in the lines of Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa and Somānanda. It is on such account that the couplet No. 53 was added in two different versions to the Karikā. One of the versions proclaims Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa as the versifier of the secrets of the philosophy of Spanda, meaning by that his authorship of the Kārikā. Such version of the couplet has been accepted and explained by Utpala Vaiṣṇava. The other version indicates vaguely that the Kārikā was written by Vasugupta himself. Such version of it finds its place in the text explained by Kṣemarāja. But the couplet No. 53 does neither exist in the Spanda-sarvasva of Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa, nor in the Spanda-vivṛti of Rāmakaṇṭha. That proves its later origin.

Kṣemarāja was very intelligent and sufficiently well read. Since he was the only one among the disciples of Abhinavagupta who took sufficient interest in academic pursuits, he had become a bit over conscious about his ability. He was fond of confusing simple principles of philosophy by making them complex through his such expression and was keen to find

6. Sp. Ni. p. 54.
7. T.A., 29-123, 24.

out fresh interpretations of ancient texts like ***Śivasūtra, Spandakārikā*** etc. Abhinavagupta may have sensed such tendencies in him and that may have been the cause on account of which his name was not mentioned anywhere by the great teacher who mentions by names many of his favourite disciples in more than one of his works, especially in his ***Tantrāloka***. Besides, his account of the revelation of ***Śivasūtra*** comes closer to mythology than to history. Therefore his views on the authorship of Spandakārikā cannot be taken as correct and the views of the above mentioned three authors cannot be rejected as incorrect. The evidence of Rāmakaṇṭha carries the heaviest weight because he, belonging to the time of Avantivarman, must have had frequent personal contacts with Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa and others.

Spanda, as discovered by Vasugupta, and as brought to light by Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa, is the blissful and spiritual conative stir of the absolute and divine consciousness and is vibratory in its character. Vibration in physics is a zigzag outward movement of the waves of some physical elements like light, sound etc. But *Spanda* is a double edged stir, throbbing outwardly and inwardly at one and the same moment. It is purely a spiritual stir and not any physical movement or mental restlessness. It can be explained as the extrovertive and introvertive divine volition of God. Had He not possessed such a vibratory nature, He alone would have existed for ever; there would not have been any creation, any dissolution, any phenomenal manifestation and anything that could have manifested His Godhead. The divine dramatic show of creation and dissolution, bondage and liberation etc. is manifested by Him in wonderfully different ways through the extrovertive and introvertive throbbing of His Spanda. Through the innermost inward aspect of such throbbing, He shines as the absolute and pure consciousness alone. His natural tendency towards the outward manifestation of His divine powers of Godhead is the result of its outward throbbing. God cannot be taken to be quite identical with Spanda which has a rise and a fall in Him. It is not quite identical with His Śakti which is the basic source of its constant rise and fall. It is thus the important nature and result of the Śakti of

God. Since Śakti or Godhead is the essential nature of God, He cannot be visualized as being devoid of Spanda, but can be realized as the perfect embodiment of Spanda in its two aspects of extroversion and introversion, resulting in the manifestation of creation and dissolution.

Since God shines Himself in the form of each and every soul, every living being has Spanda as his essential nature. Everyone is always aware of his own self as "I." That is due to the inward vibration of Spanda in him. Each living being is always prone to know and to do something and that is the result of the outward flutter of Spanda. In its pure spiritual aspect it can be easily experienced by a being if he puts in action his finer and sharpened attention and tries to discover through it the inner source of all his psychic and physical activities, all of which are phenomenal manifestations of Spanda which shines in them but is not generally realized like that. Such an exploration of the finer nature of Spanda becomes easily possible on the occasion of a higher pitch of an emotion like joy, terror, anger, astonishment etc.[8] The purer and the divine aspect of Spanda shines for a moment in such situations; but its duration is so short that one cannot catch hold of it. Our power of attentive awareness is not generally so quick as to catch it. It can be done easily by yogins practising the Śaiva yoga of the Trika system. Such yogins alone can teach the way of catching it. No logical thinking and reasoning can be of any avail in such matter. Spandakārikā of Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa can therefore be much more useful to an adept practitioner of Śaiva yoga than to an academician or a logical thinker. It is on account of such mystic character of Spanda-śāstra that all works other than the Kārikā, (alongwith a few commentaries) have been lost. Only their names are known from references to them in the works of later authors. One of such works is *viśvasaṃhitā* which appears to be a versified commentary of Spandakarika. (Sp. Pr., p. 41). Passages from some work of the same character have been quoted in *Spandapradīpikā*, pp. 30 and 42.

8. S.K., 22; S.D., I-1 to 11.

Tattvavicāra[9] was a work by Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa which has been lost and is known only through a reference in *Spanda-pradipikā* of Utpala Vaiṣṇava who refers to the *Tattvārtha-cintāmaṇi*[10] of Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa and quotes a lengthy passage from it.[11] That work has been mentioned by Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara as well. He says that Śivasūtra contained four chapters, three of which were explained by Bhṛṭṭa Kallaṭa through his Spanda sūtra (that is, Spandakārikā) and the fourth one through his *Tattvārtha-cintāmaṇi*.[12] Abhinavagupta says that Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa composed *Madhuvāhini* and *Tattvārthacintāmaṇi*[13] as two commentaries on Śivasūtra. Kṣemarāja quotes some aphoristic passages from Tattvārtha-cintāmani. It appears to the writer of these lines that such passages may have been the original *sūtras* contained in the fourth chapter of *Śivasūtra*. All such works of Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa must have dealt with some very esoteric doctrines of Śaiva yoga and must have been highly mystic in style and that may have been the cause of their loss, because very few adept aspirants alone may have become interested in them. A quotation from some work of Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa describes the qualities of *duti*,[14] a female assistant who helps a preceptor of Kaulism in the transmission of the knowledge of the absolute theistic monism of Saiva philosophy to his disciples. That shows Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa to have been a preceptor of the Kula system and an author of some work on it as well. Such things suggest further the esoteric character of his works. His other works mentioned and quoted by Utpala Vaiṣṇava are (i) Sva-svabhāva-sambodhana (Sp. Pr., pp. 7, 8), and (ii) some work in Kashmira apabhraṃśa language (*Ibid*, p. 23).

Spanda and Pratyabhijñā are being counted as two different schools of Śaivism, but in fact there is no mutual disagreement between their principles and doctrines, the only difference being in the topics discussed. Pratyabhijñā section

9. S. Pr., pp. 9, 38.
10. *Ibid*, p. 30.
11. *Ibid*.
12. S.S.V., p. 3.
13. I. Pr.V.V., Vol II, p. 30.
14. T.A., 29—123, 124.

deals mainly with the logical theories of Śaivism and the Spanda section takes up the practical yoga and its results as the subject matter to be dealt with. Abhinavagupta quotes profusely from Spandakārikā while explaining the *Āgamādhikāra* of *Īśvarapratyabhijñā vivrti*. It was Shri J.C. Chatterjee who committed such mistake of counting them as two different schools of Kashmir Śaivism and scholars are still following him in such matters. A person, who attains self-recognition or *pratyabhijñā*, discovers *Spanda* as his basic nature. *Agamaśāstra* is the source of both the Spanda and Pratyabhijñā sections of Kashmir Śaivism, because both of them derive their doctrines from Āgamas. *Āgama-śastra* is thus a specia section of the literature on Kashmir Śaivism.

Neither *Pratyabhijñā-śāstra* nor *Āgama-śāstra* can ignore the principle of Spanda, because the stir of Spanda is the most fundamental principle of practical Śaivism. It is one of the most important principles of its theory as well and the credit for its popularization goes to Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa who developed it and taught it to his disciples in many of its aspects. He is thus the builder of the *Spanda-śāstra*.

CHAPTER IV

Somananda and His Sivadrsti

Divinely beautiful land of Kashmir has been attracting visitors and settlers from the very ancient times. The efficient, just and generous administration established by great Kārkoṭa emperors in the beginning of the eighth century A.D., provided a greater charm to many families of scholars who came and settled here permanently in that golden age of this land. It was most probably that period when Saṅgamāditya, the fourth ancestor of Somānanda, visited the valley while on a pilgrimage and made this country his permanent home.

Saṅgamāditya was, according to the statement of Somānanda, the sixteenth presiding teacher of the monistic school of Śaiva philosophy established by Tryambakāditya I, the chief disciple of the famous Śaiva sage Durvāsas. He lived previously in a cave somewhere near the Kailasa mountain in the trans-Himalayan areas of greater India. That school of monistic Śaivism, known as the school of Tryambaka, was successively presided over by fourteen saints who lived an ever celibate life and all of whom bore the same name Tryambakāditya. The fifteenth Tryambakāditya, however, changed the tradition of life-long celibacy and married a Brahmin girl according to Brahmanic rites, rituals, traditions and ideals. She gave birth to Saṅgamāditya who became later the sixteenth presiding preceptor of the school of Tryambaka and who was a Brahmana both by birth and education. The school came to be known as *Teramba* in the ancient

Kashmiri language. We can find in Kashmir, even now, persons with the word "*Tryambi*" as their surname.[1]

Saṅgamāditya was succeeded by his son Varṣāditya and he, in turn, by his son Aruṇāditya, the father and preceptor of Ānanda. Somānanda was the son and the chief disciple of Ānanda and became, on his turn, the twentieth presiding teacher in the line. This account of his ancestry has been given by Somānanda himself in the last chapter of his *Śivadṛṣṭi*.

Somānanda, the author of the first philosophic treatise on the monistic Śaivism of Tryambaka, lived in the ninth century A.D. He was a younger contemporary of Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa who lived in Kashmir in the reign of king Avantivarman because he refers to the views of Bhaṭṭa Pradyumna, a cousin of the latter.[2] His chief disciple was Utpaladeva who commented on *Śivadṛṣṭi* and writing several other works on Śaivism, carried further the development of the literature of the school. Great philosophers like Abhinavagupta appeared later in the line of his disciples.

Nothing is known with certainty about the exact place where Somānanda lived in the valley, but, most probably, he might have been a resident of Srinagar proper where most of the later philosophers of the school lived. Śitikaṇṭha, an author belonging to the fifteenth century, says that he belonged to the family of some Soma who was a great saint, capable to exercise both grace and wrath, and who lived at Padmapura, the modern Pampur. If that Soma is taken to be Somānanda, then the place of his residence can definitely be fixed at Pampur. Śitikaṇṭha refers thus to Soma in his commentary on the *Bālabodhinī* of Jagaddhara Bhaṭṭa.

There is a reference in the Rājataraṅgini about the shrine 'Someśvara', having been established by Somānanda in the outskirts of the city. Most of the Śaiva philosophers of Kashmir were, like ancient Vedic Ṛṣis, householders following Brahmanic ideals. Somānanda also was a householder like his five immediate forefathers. His achievements in the practice of Śaiva yoga of the Trika and Kula systems were immen-

1. S.D. VII, 109 to 121.
2. S.D. III, 1, 9.

sely great, as he has been very highly praised on that account by great philosophers like Abhinavagupta.

Many esoteric principles of theory and practice of the monistic Śaivism were revealed to many teachers of the school of Tryambaka after it got established in Kashmir. Those principles were written down by them in the form of Śaiva Āgamas like *Mālini-Vjaya, Siddhā, Netra, Bhargaśikhā,* etc. These Āgamas, like all other Tāntric scriptures, are dialogues on higher principles regarding the origin, the nature and the aims of human life and also the means to achieve those aims. Dialogue is after all a dialogue and is not a treatise. When people talk, they do not generally talk strictly on one and the same topic and do not often deal systematically with topics talked over. They do not strictly follow the technique laid down by logicians for the sake of philosophic writings. So it is but natural that principles of philosophy lie scattered in scriptures in a haphazard manner, just as precious herbs lie scattered and hidden in a forest full of uncountable types of vegetation. A curious person has to attain a philosophic insight by means of higher religious practices and has to dive deep into the oceans of scriptures to find out the exact principles of a philosophy. Then he has to develop a correct and exact mental understanding of them and also a high proficiency in the art of expression of subtler realities. Then and then alone can he become an exact and efficient teacher or author of a philosophy.

Tryambaka's school of Śaivism was fortunate enough to get a chain of such saintly and scholarly philosophers of great merit, possessing highly advanced achievements in the practice of religion and philosophy, on the one hand, and of highly developed faculties of head and heart, on the other hand. This school of thought developed and progressed regularly after its transplantation in the valley of Kashmir. The valley, which was always rich in the beauties of nature, showed once again that its soil was so fertile for the growth of a beautiful philosophy. Nearly all the important divine scriptures and philosophic treatises as well as the manuals of practice of the school of Tryambaka were composed in the valley of Kashmir and an unbroken tradition of teaching and learning

of the philosophy of the school got well established in this very land. It is for these reasons that this school has come to be known as the school of Kashmir Śaivism. Great authors of philosophic works started to appear in Kashmir from the ninth century A.D. and the foremost ones among them were Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa and Somānanda, the authors of Spandakārika and *Śivadṛṣṭi*, the latter being the first detailed philosophic treatise composed on the subject of Kashmir Śaivism in a logical style.

Śivadṛṣṭi is divided into seven chapters. Its first chapter deals with the metaphysics and ontology of Kashmir Śaivism. It describes the essential nature of *Paramaśiva*, the eternally existent absolute reality. Then it traces the origin of the whole phenomenon in that ultimate reality. It also describes the process of the creation of the universe, along with its important elements, out of that fundamental reality. The theory of *Vivarta*, (mere appearance based on ignorance), as taught in the philosophy of Samskṛt grammar by scholars like Bhartṛhari, has been thoroughly criticised logically and psychologically in the second chapter of *Śivadṛṣṭi*. The *Śabda Brahman*, the *Paśyanti* and *Parā* types of speech also have been discussed well in that chapter. The beginninglessness and the inexplicability of *Avidyā*, the basic ignorance on which is based the theory of *Vivarta*, have also been criticised there. The whole criticism of the *Vivarta* theory of the grammarians can hold good as a criticism of the *Vivarta* theory of the Vedanta of Śaṅkara as well.

The third chapter begins with the criticism of the approach to the ultimate reality as adopted by some, so called, Śāktas and establishes an identity and a unity between Śaktism and Śaivism. All possible objections that can be raised by curious readers against the principle of Śaiva monism, have been discussed in detail and have then been criticised and refuted, one by one, through sound logical arguments in the same chapter. The absolutely monistic and eternal existence of the basic reality, on the one hand, and the constant flow of this phenomenal diversity as a cosmos, on the other hand, have also been, side by side, explained and reconciled well in the same chapter. The consistency of the monistic unity of the

Lord in all the playful divine activities has been thoroughly discussed through logically sound arguments in the fourth chapter of ***Śivadṛṣṭi***. The fifth chapter of this work is devoted to the refutation of all logical defects, that could be pointed out by antagonists like Vijñānavādins, with respect to the principle of Śaiva monism. The exact nature of that monism, termed by later teachers as Parādvaita, which differs from that of the Advaita Vedānta, has also been described towards the close of that chapter. The fundamental principles of all other schools and sub-schools of Indian philosophy have been discussed, examined and criticised in the sixth chapter. The seventh chapter deals with the practical side of Kashmir Śaivism. Several types of meditation, that can lead to the achievement of worldly and spiritual aims of human life, have been described in that chapter which closes with the narration of the history of the origin and the transmission of Kashmir Śaivism and, side by side, with a brief history of the family of the author.

Śivadṛṣṭi bears a brief commentary by Utpaladeva. But, unfortunately, the commentary from the middle of the fourth chapter has been lost and the work beyond that point has, consequently, become more or less unintelligible. Abhinavagupta's ***Ālocana*** on ***Śivadṛṣṭi*** has also been lost. Somānānda had composed a commentary on ***Parātriśikā***— a Tāntric text dealing with some of the highest types of practices in Śaiva yoga. That commentary is not available at present, but has been quoted at several places by Abhinavagupta in his own commentary on that work.

Śivadṛṣṭi reveals that Somānanda must have had sufficient experience in the direct realization of the highest and the finest nature of the ultimate reality. Somānanda's extremely sharp intelligence, his wonderful powers of minute thinking and exact understanding of occult truths, his highly developed capacity to express in clear terms even the inexpressible secrets of spiritual principles of philosophy, the natural flow of his expression and his complete mastery over Saṃskṛt language and Indian logic, as revealed in ***Śivadṛṣṭi***, are rather unique in many respects. It goes highly to his credit that, before refuting and criticising an antagonistic thought, he

tries to understand exactly, and also to make his readers understand clearly, the exact significance of such thought and his capacity to grasp fully the exact purport of all the prevalent schools of philosophy is so wonderful. He always refutes a theory by means of subtle and sound logic assisted by psychological observations. He has examined the most vital elements of the theories of not less than thirteen main schools and several sub-schools of Indian philosophy and has refuted them by means of sound arguments.

The philosophy of Somānanda is, on one hand, an absolutely monistic one and, on the other hand, a highly theistic one. The great Saṅkarācārya could not reconcile monism with theism and explained the latter with the help of the principle of beginningless ignorance. But Somānanda realized the theistic nature of the Lord even in His absolutely transcendental unity. All the capacities and divine activities of the Lord and the whole phenomenon lie in Him in an absolutely condensed form just as all the elements of a plant lie hidden in a seed. A seed is not completely independent and therefore has to depend on some foreign elements like warmth, moisture, etc. for the manifestation of its capacities. But the Lord is absolutely independent in all respects and manifests His divine powers, through His independent will. So the whole universe, in the view of Somānanda, is nothing but the manifestation of the supreme Godhead of Śiva, the absolute reality. Śiva, according to *Śivadṛṣṭi*, is a limitless and self evident consciousness which is ever blissful and playful by its own nature. He is always vibrating to and fro by virtue of the divine stir of consciousness which is His essential nature. That vibration should not be taken as any physical movement like that of sound or light, nor is it to be understood to be any mental impulse like desire, greed, disgust, etc. It is something like a sort of throbbing of that infinite consciousness, or a movement-like activity of that conscious luminosity which is always motionless and which is known as *Paramaśiva*, the eternal, absolute and basic reality. It is known as *Spanda* in the Śaiva philosophy. The purest aspect of *Spanda* can, according to *Śivadṛṣṭi*, be realized for a moment in a highest pitch of some emotion like pleasure, wonder,

anger, etc. provided a person is sufficiently super vigilant in self introspection. Somānanda does not, however, use the term *Spanda* for it, but calls it aunmukhya.

By virtue of such stir of consciousness, the eternal bliss of the Lord appears in the form of a will to manifest and that will takes the form of knowing and doing. Consciousness, bliss, will, knowing and doing are the five primary powers of the Lord and are known as His ***Śaktis.*** These ***Śaktis*** have a constant rise and fall in the Lord just as waves have in an ocean. The stir of consciousness makes these powers throb to and fro and that results in manifestations of five divine activities of the Lord. The objective existence, lying merged in the infinite consciousness, appears in its objective form in the manner of a reflection. But that reflection does not require any outward object to cast it there. It is manifested by the unrestrictible will of the Lord. The five powers of the Lord grow forth, attain grossness and bring forth creation, preservation and dissolution of the universe. The Lord, while manifesting these three divine activities, goes on concealing his real nature of pure consciousness and appears in the form of the numerous types of different limited subjects and objects. He moves down and down into thicker planes of ignorance through the species of animals and plants. Then, exercising His supreme grace on some limited beings, He reveals to them His divine nature and such beings realize themselves to be the Lord and none else. These are the fourth and the fifth divine activities of obscuration and revelation of the Lord. So God, by virtue of His natural stir of consciousness, manifests these five divine activities. While doing so, He appears in the form of many types of souls in heavens, hells and mortal worlds, on one hand, and also in the form of this objective phenomenon full of immense diversity, on the other hand. In the view of Somānanda, every being and thing is God and God alone. A person may realize his Godhead or may not do so, he is God and God alone in both the cases. One may recognize gold as gold or may not recognize it like that; gold is gold in both the cases. But the difference lies in one way. While recognized as gold it gives great joy to its possessor and becomes of great use to him. In the same way one's

Godhead, when realized and recognized thoroughly by a person, makes him at once blissful and can be partly exercised and, consequently, relished by him. Therefore a wise person should realize and recognize his basic divine nature and it is for that purpose that Somānanda composed ***Śivadṛṣṭi.***

Somānanda does not completely agree with the principles of the Vedantic monism, because, according to Vedanta, the Godhead of the Lord and the manifestation of the phenomenon are mere appearances based on the effect of *Avidyā*. 'Where from did *Avidyā* originally emerge,' asks Somānanda. The principle of beginninglessness and inexplicability of *Avidyā* does not appeal him. To him it is a sort of escapism. He lays stress on the principle of the absolutely independent will of the Lord and says that His will knows no restrictions or obstructions. He appears as He wills and doing so, becomes, as it were, all the elements of which the phenomenon consists. So, on the one hand, He is the absolute reality consisted of only an unlimited, all containing, self radiant and absolutely pure consciousness and, on the other hand, whatever appears in the universe is He and He alone. Even an inanimate object is, in reality, as much God as God in His transcendental aspect.

As for the principles of *Śiva* and *Śakti*, he says that the whole play of the fivefold divine activity of the Lord is His *Śakti*, which is His Godhead and is His very essence. ***Śakti*** is therefore never different from Śiva. Just as capacities to shine, to burn, to give warmth, to cook and so on, are never different from fire, so have all the powers of the Lord a complete identity with Him. But so far as the name to be given to the ultimate reality is concerned, he argues that the word *Śakti*, according to its grammatical formation, denotes an attribute which must have some substance as its support to stand upon and concludes that, for this reason, the absolute reality should be called *Śiva*, rather than *Śakti*. His commentator mentions the so-called *Śāktas* as '*Śvayūthyas*,' that is, persons belonging to their own rank, the rank of Śaivas. So Śaktism, according to *Śivadṛṣṭi*, is not different from Śaivism.

Somānanda does not fully agree with the expressions of the seers of Vedic Upaniṣads. He quotes from many of them

and shows how the expressions used are not free from defects. While doing so, he points out that the Upaniṣadic scholars are depending on the self-imagined principle of *Avidyā* and that proves his criticism as being aimed at such ancient Vedāntins who interpreted Upaniṣads with the help of the theory of *Vivarta*.

He generally draws inspiration from the Śaiva *Āgamas* and bases the principles of his philosophy on them. His philosophy is, on that account, a Tāntric one and not a Vedic one, though, at places, he accepts the authority of the Vedic scriptures also. He neither agrees with the gross realism of *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* systems, nor with the subtle realism of *Sāṃkhya-Yoga* systems, on one hand, and, on the other hand, he does not approve of the idealism of the Vedanta or that of the *Vijñānavāda* of the Buddhists. The *Śunyavada*—of Nagārjuna also does not appeal him. He refutes the basic principles of all these schools of thought.

He agrees with the idealists in maintaining that the phenomenon is a mere appearance. But, in his view, the root cause of this appearance lies in the nature of the absolute Godhead of Śiva Who appears as He wills. Therefore the whole universe, in his opinion, is Śiva appearing in different forms at different stages and substages in the process of His five playful activities of Godhead. His philosophy can be taken either as monistic theism or as theistic monism and since he takes the basic reality as the Absolute and sees the whole phenomenon as the manifestation of that Absolute, it can be termed as a theistic absolutism as well.

Somānanda, though not so much known through the length and breadth of India, and though still less known abroad, is, in fact, one of the greatest thinkers and siddhas of India and has made one of the most valuable contributions to Indian culture. It is however a matter for satisfaction that scholars in this country and abroad have lately started to take interest in him and his teachings.

CHAPTER V

Isvarapratyabhijna of Utpaladeva

The Śaiva philosophy of Kashmir has been named as *Pratyabhijñā-darśana* in the *Saravadarśanasaṅgraha* of Mādhavāchārya partly because the name of the most important philosophic work on the subject is *Īśvarapratyabhijñā* and partly because the doctrine of *pratyabhijñā*, or self-recognition, has been given the utmost importance in that work of Utpaladeva. Abhinavagupta, one of the top most important thinkers of India, while mentioning the importance of that work, says like this, "It may be possible for a person to dive deep into something much more fearful than the upsurging waters of highly ruffled ocean, made dreadful by the flames of its interior fire, named *Vāḍavānala*, kindled immensely by forceful gales of stormy winds at the time of the cosmic dissolution of all solid existence, but it is not at all possible for a thinker to fathom the depths of the philosophy expressed in Īśvarapratyabhijña, which none other than Śiva Himself is capable to do[1]" (I.P.V. V. vol. III, p. 406).

Utpaladeva, the author of the work, belonged, according to the statement of Rāmakaṇṭha, his disciple, to *Rājānaka* family of Kashmirian Brahmins. His father, according to his own statement, was Udayākara. He had a son named Vibhramākara. Pt. Madhusudan Kaul, taking suggestion from these two names, infers that the original name of Utpaladeva may have been Utpalākara. It is just possible that his disciples and associates may have added, out of respect, the word 'deva' to his name and, in order to shorten it, may have

dropped the word *ākara* from it. He calls himself simply 'Utpala.' He does not give us any more information regarding his personal history. Abhinavagupta, while commenting on the ***Vivṛti*** of Utpaladeva on his own-***Īśvarapratyabhijñā***, says that Utpaladeva was a Brahmin born of Vāgīśvarī and his father was a '*Lāṭa*' by origin. Vāgīśvari was thus the name of his mother. Lāṭas were the ancient people of Gujarat. The ancestors of Utpaladeva had thus migrated from Gujarat to Kashmir, most probably during the reign of Lalitāditya. It appears from the words of Abhinavagupta that Utpaladeva had himself given such information in his ***Vivṛti*** on the words—"*Udayākarasūnunā*" of his ***Īśvarapratyabhijñā***. But since the ***Vivṛti*** has not so far become available, this point cannot be fully elucidated.

Somānanda, the twentieth presiding teacher of the school of Tyambaka and the author of '***Śivadṛṣṭi***, the first philosophic treatise written on the subject, was the preceptor of Utpaladeva. Lakṣmaṇagupta and Abhinavagupta were respectively his immediate successors in the line of direct disciples. Rāmakaṇṭha, a contemporary of Avantivarman, was also one of his prominent disciples. Padmānanda was his class mate. Rāmakaṇṭha's commentaries on ***Spandakārikā*** and ***Bhagavadgitā*** are available in print. It was he who collected and compiled the poetical works of Utpaladeva.

Utpaladeva quotes from ***Spandakārikā*** of Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa and also from ***Tattvagarbha-Stotra*** of Bhaṭṭa Pradyumna, a disciple and a cousin of the former. Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa, who was a perfect being (***siddha***), lived in Kashmir during the reign of Avantivarman and has been mentioned like that by Kalhaṇa in his ***Rājataraṅgiṇī*** which mentions Muktākaṇa as a court poet of that ruler. Rāmakaṇṭha says that he was a younger brother of Muktākaṇa. Therefore all these teachers, philosophers and poets belong to the later part of the ninth century. They are thus elder and younger contemporaries, Bhaṭṭa-Kallaṭa and Bhaṭṭa Pradyumna as the elder ones, Somānanda and Utpaladeva as the younger ones and Lakṣmaṇagupta and Rāmakaṇṭha as still younger ones.

Abhinavagupta belonged to the later part of the 10th century and the earlier part of the eleventh century. The

dates given by him in three of his works correspond respectively with A.D. 990, 992, and 1014 A.D. while writing his *Vimarśini* on the *Vivṛti* of Utpaladeva on his own *Īśvarapratyabhijñā*, he (Abhinavagupta) says that he was entrusted by the author to his disciple Lakṣmaṇagupta, for the purpose of initiation in the monistic Śaiva philosophy, as discussed in that work. This proves two things : Firstly, it shows that Utpaladeva was living in this world upto the time when Abhinavagupta was just a young boy who could not be yet taught the profound principles of philosophy discussed in Īśvarapratyabhijñā. Secondly, it proves that Abhinavagupta was born in that early part of the tenth century when Utpaladeva was still living in a mortal form. Both Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta must have thus lived long lives, the first one beginning it in the ninth century A.D. and the second one reaching at least the first quarter of the eleventh century and both living together in the middle of the tenth.

Neither Utpaladeva nor any one else has ever said anything about the exact place of his residence. It is however probable that he was a resident of Srinagar proper, where most of the authors of important works on Kashmir Śaivism lived. There is a tradition prevalent among some old pandits of Srinagar which says that his exact place of residence was Gotapora, (ancient Guptapura), situated somewhere in the northern part of the old city towards Vetsārnāg.

Utpaladeva was a great scholar. He was a master of all the subjects studied by scholars in his age. His *Vivṛti* on his *Īśvarapratyabhijñā* must have been over-burdened by discussions from the view points of other schools of thought like *Mīmāṃsā*, *Śabda-Brahma-vāda*, *Vijñānavāda* etc. This thing is proved by the *Vimarśini* written on it by Abhinavagupta. He had surely made a thorough study of the works of Buddhist logicians whose views he refutes now and then by means of sound arguments.

The paths of *sannyāsa*, *vairāgya* and forced repression of mind and senses, popularly prevalent among the saints and philosophers of many other parts of India, had never become much popular with the Hindu adepts of Kashmir. Most of the Hindu philosophers of that land lived house-

holders' life in accordance with Brahmanic ideals laid down in *Smṛtis* and come down in tradition. Five of the immediate ancestors of Somānanda were householders. Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa was a householder and so was Utpaladeva. Somānanda also was probably a householder. They followed Brahmanism and practised Saiva Yoga, side by side. Theirs was an integral path of action, devotion, meditation and knowledge.

Utpaladeva is the author of several valuable works on Śaiva philosophy and the most important one among them is *Īśvarapratyabhijñā*. This work deals with nearly all the important topics of the theory of Śaiva philosophy and makes them sufficiently clear to curious students. *Śivadṛṣṭi* of Somānanda, on account of its extremely minute ideas, absolute subtleness of its logical method and intense conciseness of its style of expression, did not allow it to become so much popular with students in general as did later *Īśvarapratyabhijñā* of Utpaladeva, his chief disciple. This work expresses in a more intelligible and an easier style all the main principles of the theory of Śaiva philosophy discussed in *Śivadṛṣṭi* and has been correctly described by Abhinavagupta as bearing clear reflections of the philosophy of Somānanda.

(I. Pr. V. vol. II, p. 2)

Īśvarapratyabhijñā consists of four sections or books called *Adhikāras*. *Jñāna* (knowing) and *Kriyā* (doing) have been accepted as two main aspects of consciousness and the first two books of the work deal with the manifestations of these two powers of the Absolute God. Book I, named *Jñānādhikāra*, refutes the Buddhist doctrine of the nonexistence of a knowing subject and establishes its eternal existence in addition to the constant flow of momentary mental ideas. It proves that the real "I" is that pure and permanent consciousness which makes all recollections possible, serves as the necessary connecting link between any two ideas and with the psychic light of which do all the mental phenomena shine and appear as existent entities. It throws light on the manner in which limited subjects and objects of perception, cognition any recollection as well as the limitation itself are manifested by God through His divine powers. It proves permanent, infinite and pure consciousness to be the only base of all

finite cognitions, recollections etc. It establishes by means of sound arguments the absolute Godhood of the pure and infinite consciousness, shining as all-containing, infinite, eternal, pure and absolute I-consciousness.

Book II of *Īśvarapratyabhijñā* is devoted to the description of the nature of Kriyā, the way and the manner of the manifestations of movement, relativity, time, space and means of relative knowledge. The Śaivite theory of causations also has been dealt with in detail in that book. Time and space have been proved to be mere conceptions of the finite subject and are said to be based on two types of relativity which also has been taken as a mere conception based on limited and pluralistic view of the finite subject. The scope of the relative means of mundane knowledge has been discussed in detail and the ultimate Truth has been established as an absolute existence shining through its own psychic lustre of pure I-consciousness and lying beyond the scope of all worldly means of knowing.

Book III describes the evolution of the thirty-six *tattvas* out of the Absolute. It analyses the whole phenomenon into different elements and describes the different stages of its evolution in accordance with the doctrines of Śaiva-Āgamas. The same doctrines are applied to the classification of knowing subjects into seven categories of living beings. It throws light on the extent of their comparative purity and impurity as well. Such classification has also been worked out in accordance with the doctrines of Śaiva Āgamas and this book has, on such account been termed as *Āgamādhikāra*. It throws light on the nature of the four states of animation consisting of waking, dreaming, sleeping and the fourth one. Besides, it describes the essence of the five functions of animation called *prāṇa*, *apāna*, *samāna*, *udāna* and *vyāna*. These five functions of animation and its four states are correlated with the seven types of living beings through an integral approach to these three types of analysis of the subjective phenomenon. The last book is devoted to the remaining important topics such as the origin and nature of three *guṇas*. It elludes briefly to the central topic of Saivayoga and hints at its immediate results. Towards the close of the work has been discussed

the importance of self recognition or ***pratyabhijñā*** and the whole work has afterwards been concluded with a reference to the name of the author and his father.

Another philosophic work of Utpaladeva is ***Siddhitrayi*** which consists of three small different works. It is meant to supplement ***Īśvarapratyabhijñā***. Certain topics, which were dealt with very briefly in that work, were afterwards discussed in detail in ***Siddhitrayi***. The first of these ***Siddhis*** is ***Ajaḍapramātṛ-siddhi*** in which the author proves that no dealings of knowing or doing would have become possible without the constant existence of a subjective element shining in the form of that pure I-consciousness which is an eternal entity and is different from mind and mental states. The theory of non-existentialism of the ***Vijñānavāda*** of ***Mahāyāna*** Buddhism has thus been fully refuted. The second text, named ***Īśvara-siddhi***, aims at the refutation of the atheistic theory of transformation (***pariṇāmavāda***), as advocated in the Ṣaṁkhya system. The author argues that the creation of this universe, consisting of numerous subjects and objects, possessing wonderfully different nature and capable of yielding wonderfully different aims, could not have become possible had there not been an all-knowing conscious element behind its movements, directing them in accordance with some law and aiming them at different kinds of purposes of individual beings. It is further argued that no soul could have attained ***Kaivalya*** had the unconscious ***prakṛti*** (root substance) been independently active in transforming itself of its own accord, because, being inanimate in nature, it could never have discriminated any enlightened souls from others who are yet in darkness. The third text, named ***Sambandha-siddhi***, is devoted to the explanation of the nature, origin and manifestation of relativity which has been explained to be a mere conception of the finite being. ***Īśvarapratyabhijñā*** becomes complete with ***Siddhitrayi*** which serves it as an addendum.

Utpaladeva had written some more works on philosophy. Abhinavagupta quotes passages from them without mentioning their names. He has been said to have composed a work named ***Parapancaśikā*** on the Śaivayoga of the highest type. A verse has been quoted from it in several other works and

the name of the work has been mentioned by Amṛtānanda in his *Yoginīhṛdayadīpikā*. But the verse concerned is not found in the printed text of the work. His authorship with respect to that work is therefore doubtful.

Somananda built the theoretical aspect of Kashmir Śaivism in his *Śivadṛṣṭi*, Utpaladeva refined it in his philosophic works mentioned above and Abhinavagupta carried it to complete perfection by giving the final interpretation to its doctrines and principles through his commentaries on the above mentioned works and by systematising and analysing its practical aspect through his works like *Tantrāloka* and *Tantrasāra*. Utpaladeva composed, in addition, brief commentaries called *vṛttis* on *Śivadṛṣṭi*, *Īśvarapratyabhijñā* and *Siddhitrayi* which are partly available. The loss of his *vṛtti* on the last half of *Śivadṛṣṭi* is an irreparable loss which pinches the students and scholars of Śaivism because that part of the work remains unintelligible to a great extent. Utpaladeva's detailed commentary called *Vivṛti* or *Tikā*, written by him on his own *Īśvarapratyabhijñā*, has also been lost and the detailed commentary written on that *Vivṛti* by Abhinavagupta does not yield sufficient results on that account. If the *Vivṛti* could become available the colossal work of Abhinavagupta would become very useful.

Utpaladeva was not only a philosopher of deep insight but also a poet of great merit. He composed a few beautiful hymns in praise of Lord Śiva. In addition, he wrote a considerable number of single verses at different occasional outbursts of spiritual ecstacy caused by highly emotional feelings of union with and separation from God. Such verses were afterwards collected, compiled and classified into poems by disciples in the line. The collection was named *Śivastotrāvalī*. It is available with a Sanskrit commentary by Ksemaraja. All that poetry of Utpaladeva can be classed with the best religious lyrics of India. His poetry is suggestive of certain profound principles of his philosophy which finds a more effective expression in poetry than in logical composition.

All the important post-Buddhist schools of Hindu philosophy have criticised the Buddhist principles of atheism and non-existentialism. But, since that religion depended more

on intellect and reasoning than on faith and scriptural authority, its thinkers attained higher maturity in subtle logic with which they could beat Hindu thinkers in debates. The Śaiva philosophers of Kashmir took the Buddhists as the chief antagonists and both Somānanda and Utpaladeva devoted a significant part of their literary efforts to the refutation of the atheistic arguments of Buddhist logicians. They silenced the subtle logical arguments of *Vijñānavāda* with the help of equally subtle logic assisted by psychological findings based on practical experiences in the fields of perception, conception and intuition. They could thus succeed in convincing the curious seekers of truth about the fallacy of the atheistic *Vijñānavadā* of Buddhism and about the correctness of their theistic absolutism. Abhinavagupta completed that mission of his predecessors.

As for the basic principles of the philosophy of Utpaladeva, he rejects the theory of material realism advocated by *Sarvāstivāda* school of Buddhism and criticised by the *Vijṉānavāda* of the same religion. He agrees with idealists in accepting the principle that the whole phenomenon is a mere appearance without any substance apart from the nature and powers of the psychic luminosity of pure I-consciousness. His criticism of the *Sarvāstivāda* holds good as a criticism of the Hindu schools of material realism e g. Nyāya, Vaiśesika, Sāmkhya etc. *Vijñānavādins* hold the view that all the objective entities in the universe are mere reflections, or mere outward projections of constant flows of momentary mental ideas and are caused by the age old impressions (vāsanas) flowing down in the currents of such momentary ideas. The *Vedāntins*, agreeing partly with them, maintain that all phenomena are the reflections of the imaginative will of a universal being named *Īśvara*, Who, along with the whole phenomenon, is Himself a mere appearance based on the basic ignorance called *Avidyā* which, in their view, is beginningless and inexplicable. Utpaladeva does not agree with either of these theories of Indian idealism. He resorts to sound logical arguments, aided by psychological findings and asserts that there must be an eternally existent knowing subject, in addition to the constant flux of momentary ideas. He maintains

that pure, potent and active consciousness is definitely the essential form of such subject. He argues further that any mundane dealings of knowing, recollecting, doing, etc. can become possible only when such a conscious and potent subject serves as the connecting link between any series of mental or physical actions. He says that no such series of knowing or doing can ever become possible without the help of the psychic luminosity of a permanently existent subject consisted of that pure I-consciousness which transcends mind and mental ideas and which serves as the base on which these shine. He accepts such a subject as the real self of every living being and maintains that it is always prone to know and to do by its own basic nature and not on account of any external adjunct like ***Avidyā*** or ***vāsana***. The real self of every being is, in the view of Utpalādeva, that pure I-consciousness which is absolutely independent, divinely potent and constantly playful by its own basic nature. Such nature of the self has been accepted by him as the basic cause of its appearing as relative God, as finite soul and as objective existence.

As for the whole phenomenal existence, he says that it shines and works successfully inside the psychic luminosity of the pure consciousness and does not at all appear or exist outside it. He infers on such account that it is, in reality, the pure consciousness itself which shines in the form of all phenomena. Abhinavagupta explains it as the reflection of the powers of the pure and potent consciousness, shining in its own psychic lustre on account of its own divine and playful nature mentioned above. Utpaladeva takes thus a position quite different from those taken by both the idealists and the realists. Such a position cannot be counted as a theory of idealism, because phenomena have not been accepted in it as being basically the reflections of any mind or as any mental ideas of any finite or infinite being. These have been accepted as the materialisation of the divine will of the infinite and pure subject brought about inside the luminosity of his pure consciousness by his own playful nature. Idealism involves ideas and those require mental apparatus which also has itself been accepted as a reflection of the divine will of such absolute subject. Utpaladeva does not agree with the non-

existentialism worked out by Advaita Vedānta with regard to the phenomenon, because he says in clear terms that all phenomena do exist in the Absolute in the form of pure consciousness.

The playful nature of the Absolute shines in the form of a will to manifest objectively as "this" the whole phenomenon which is always lying there in the form of pure "I." It exists there just as all botanical elements growing out of seed and soil do already exist in them. But seed and soil require the help of external elements like moisture and warmth etc. for the purpose of their manifestation in the form of plant. flower, fruit etc. and when they appear in such forms they cease to shine in their original forms of seed and soil. But God and His Godhead do not at all require the help of any outward element in appearing in the form of the phenomenon. Besides, appearing as the whole phenomenal existence, they do not cease to shine in their original forms of pure consciousness and its divine potency, both of which are in reality only one eternal entity given two different names for the sake of understanding.

The will of the Absolute is irresistible and therefore it materialises by stages and the universe consisting of different types of numerous finite subjects and objects appears inside the psychic luminosity of the pure consciousness without the help of any external element like ***vāsanā*** or ***avidyā***. It gets reflected without any outward objects to cast their reflections into that luminosity. Just as reflections of different hues cannot affect the purity of crystal, so do not the reflections of diversity, objectivity, solidity etc. affect the purity of the potent Absolute which does not thus undergo any change while appearing as all phenomena. The manifestation of the universe in it is a mere show, a mere appearance and not any change or modification in its nature or character. The universe is not as false as the son of a barren woman, but its universal appearance, having a rise and a fall, is not as real as the Absolute. All phenomena exist in the Absolute in the form of pure consciousness and appear in their phenomenal form through the playful and divine will of the Absolute itself. They are thus the outward manifestations of the

Godhead of God. Godhead is as real as God and therefore the phenomenon also is real in its original and basic aspect of Godhead. Its phenomenal appearance alone has been accepted as a creation. Such a position, taken by Utpaladeva with respect to the nature of phenomenal existence, can be termed as spiritual realism. Since Godhead has been shown to be the very essential nature of the monistic Absolute, the philosophy of Utpaladeva can be termed as a theistic absolutism. Utpaladeva accepts the absolute reality of only one entity named ***Pramaśiva***, the Great Brahman and refutes the existence of anything other than that, serving as an external adjunct (upādhi) for the purpose of the appearance of the phenomenon. His monism can therefore be taken as the theistic and the absolute monism. It is on such account that Abhinavagupta coins a new term for it and calls it ***Parādvaita*** or ***Paramādvaya***, so as to differentiate it from the Vedantic monism which takes the shelter of the principle of ***avidyā*** for the purpose of the explanation of the phenomenal existence.

The real self of every being is, according to Utpaladeva, the absolute God whose wonderfully potent will is His Godhead. God, being always charged with such will, projects out the reflections of His divine powers which appear as all phenomena. He sustains them and dissolves them again to pure consciousness. While doing so he conceals His divine nature and appears as limited soul, on one hand, and as his objective universe, on the other hand. God, applying His wrath on some souls, pushes them down into deeper and deeper darkness of ignorance and that is His activity of obscuration termed as ***pidhāna*** or ***tirodhāna***, or ***vilaya*** or ***nigraha***. He, applying His enlightening grace on some soul, reveals to him the whole truth about His divine nature and such a being, realising himself to be none other than God, sees every objective entity as his own self. That is the revelative activity of God. Godhead consists thus of five divine activities. An adept practitioner has, in the view of Utpaladeva, just to realise and recognise his real divine nature, that is, his natural Godhead, by means of the exact understanding of the philosophy discussed in ***Īśvarapratyabhijñā*** and has to actually feel his divine nature by practising Śaiva yoga

alluded to by him towards the close of that work. Such realisation by an aspirant is the highest aim for which *Īśvarapratyabhijñā* was composed by the author.

Śivastotvarali of Utpaladeva reveals him to be a great poet possessing a spontaneous flow of highly beautiful poetry. Clearness of expression, depth of emotion, appropriateness of technique, choice of appropriate metres, and frequency of unlaboured figures of speech, found in Śivastotrāvali raise the author to the rank of ***mahākavis***. His approach towards God is not that of awe and servility, but of intense love and familiarity. The relation between him and his Lord is not that of a shuddering devout servant and a dreadful mighty master, but like that of a confident child and his affectionate parent. Utpaladeva is very often quite free with his Lord and reproaches Him mildly many a time for not being sufficiently gracious to him, just as one would reproach a person very near and extremely dear to him. The poet becomes at times mad with love for his Lord and expresses an emotional longing for a constant union with Him. The devotion and the worship mentioned many a time by the poet is in fact that direct realisation of the truth in which a devotee becomes one with God and sees Him in each and every object of his exterior and interior senses. ***Śivastotrāvali*** is thus the practical demonstration of the theory of philosophy discussed in ***Īśvarapratyabhijñā*** and serves as an effective supplement to that unique work on spiritual philosophy. In short, the contribution of Utpaladeva to India's cultural achievement is unique and he is one of the greatest spiritual philosophers of the world, though he is not known much outside the small community of the Pandits of Kashmir. *Īśvarapratyabhijñā* is his most valuable work on philosophy and time may come when the students of the subject throughout the whole civilized world may enjoy immense ecstacy in sucking the nectar of divine knowledge from it. What is needed in that regard is the writing and publishing of lucid and scholarly commentaries on it in English and in Hindi. Such commentaries should contain the exact essence of the Sanskrit ***Vimarśini*** on it by Abhinavagupta which, though published in two editions, has recently gone out of print.

CHAPTER VI

Abhinavagupta's Contribution to Saivism

Abhinavagupta, one of the most prominent authors of Kashmir Śaivism, was a descendant of Atrigupta, a great scholar of Kannauj, whom king Lalitāditya invited to live in Kashmir in the eighth century A.D. Atrigupta was not a *Vaiśya*, as the surname would suggest, but was a Brahmin of a high rank as he has been mentioned by Abhinavagupta as a *prāgrya-janmā*.[1] An administrative officer, governing one hundred villages, was designated in ancient times as a *goptā* (from *goptṛ*). Some ancestor of Atrigupta was such a prominent goptā that his family was subsequently known by such surname. Viṣṇugupta, the great Chāṇakya and Brahmagupta, the great astronomer, were both Brahmins having such surname. The word 'gupta,' in this context, is just a distorted form of the word '*goptā*.' Many great scholars and teachers appeared in Kashmir in the family of Atrigupta. Vasugupta, the discoverer of Śivasūtra, and Lakṣmaṇagupta, a teacher of Abhinavagupta, may have risen from the same family as no other Kashmirian family of scholars under such name has so far come to light. Narasinhagupta and Varāhagupta, both great scholars and saints, were respectively the father and the grandfather of Abhinavagupta. His mother, Vimlakalā, was a yoginī. Manoharagupta was his younger brother and a favourite disciple. His other prominent disciples were Karṇa, Mandra, Vatsalikā and Ambā. Some other disciples mentioned by him in his *Tantrāloka* include his five cousins named

1. P. Tr. V., p. 280, verse 11.

Kṣemagupta, Utpalagupta, Abhinavagupta II, Cakragupta and Padmagupta. But none among all such favourite disciples of the great teacher, except Abhinava, the author of Tantra-vaṭa-dhānikā, a work of minor importance, pursued any remarkable academic activities of writing books or commentaries. His only disciple who showed sufficient interest and ability in such activity was Kṣemarāja, who is different from Kṣemagupta and who may have belonged to a family from which sprung scholars like Bhūtirāja, Ādityarāja, Indurāja etc. But it is a wonder that Kṣemarāja's name has not been mentioned by the great teacher in any of his available works. It is possible that Kṣemarāja could not have won the favour of his preceptor on account of his being overconscious about the superiority of his intelligence which may have amounted to egoism not appreciable in the case of a scholar-saint. Abhinavagupta had many teachers and preceptors from whom he picked up many secrets of different *śastras*. The greatest of his preceptors was Śambhunātha of Kaṅgṛā whom he refers at least twentytwo times in his Tantrāloka and for whom he expresses the greatest regard in several important works on philosophy and theology. Abhinavagupta belonged to the later part of the tenth and the earlier part of the eleventh century A.D. The year of composition, given by him in three of his works, corresponds with 990, 992 and 1014 A.D. respectively.[2]

Abhinavagupta wrote on subjects like dramaturgy, literary criticism, logic etc., in addition to Śaivism on which he is the final authority in both, the theory and practice. He interpreted correctly and clearly the philosophic principles and theological doctrines of Kashmir Śaivism through his commentaries and independent works. It is in fact he who popularized Kashmir Śaivism by writing detailed and elucidative commentaries on the works of Somānanda and Utpaladeva. As a commentator and interpreter, he did not leave any stone unturned in the field of the philosophy of Śaiva monism. Besides, he is the only author who arranged, systematized and interpreted the highly esoteric and mystic doc-

2. Kr. St ; Bh. St ; and I. Pr. V. VI.

trines of Śaiva theology lying scattered in the vast scriptural literature of Śaiva Āgamas. In addition to these two difficult and colossal tasks, he made the Śaiva philosophy easy to be understood even by beginners through some small and big but easy works that can even now serve as text-books at the M.A. (Samsk.) level. In addition to it, he composed several easy religio-philosophic lyrics dedicated to Śiva and Śakti. Such lyrics throw a wonderful light on some highly mysterious points of spiritual philosophy.

His most important commentaries and independent works :

1. ***Īśvara-pratyabhijñā*** of Utpaladeva is the most important work on the philosophy of Kashmir Śaivism. Such a work would not have become fully intelligible and could not have attained so much popularity if Abhinavagupta had not explained the principles contained in it through his detailed commentary named ***Vimarśinī***. No scholar other than him could have done such a difficult task so efficiently as he did it.
2. Utpaladeva had written himself a brief but scholarly commentary on his ***Īśvarapratyabhijñā***. It was known either as ***Tikā*** or as ***Vivṛti***.[3] The scholarly discussions on many topics contained in it were of a very high standard of learning. But, unfortunately, none of its manuscripts has become available so far. Abhinavagupta wrote a voluminous commentary in the form of detailed notes explaining the scholarly philosophic ideas of Utpaladeva expressed in that ***Vivṛti***. That commentary has been published by the State Government in three big volumes, but cannot be of sufficient use to scholars for want of the original text of the ***Vivṛti*** which it elucidates. The commentary is known as ***Īśvarapratyabhijñā-vivṛti-vimarśinī***.
3. Abhinavagupta wrote commentaries on three smaller works of Utpaladeva. Those commentaries have unfortunately been lost. Two of them have been quoted

3. I. Pr. V. Int. verse No. 5.

by Maheśvarānanda in his ***Mahārtha-mañjai-parimala***.[4] Such commentaries are his ***Vimarśinis*** an (i) ***Ajaḍa-pramātṛ-siddhi***, ***Īśvara-siddhi*** and ***Sambandha-siddhi***.

4. A highly lamentable loss is the disappearance of his commentary named ***Ālocana*** on ***Śivadṛṣṭi*** of Somānanda.[5] Very few scholars do read ***Śivadṛṣṭi***. Had the ***Ālocana*** of Abhinavagupta been available, ***Śivadṛṣṭi*** would have become as much popular with scholars as ***Īśvarapratyabhijñā***.
5. Another lamentable loss is that of ***Krama-keli***, his commentary on ***Kramastotra*** of Siddhanātha, dealing with a superior type of Trika yoga termed as ***Kalinaya*** or ***Kramanaya***.[6]
6. ***Parātriṃśakā*** is a small scriptural work dealing with some highly esoteric doctrines of practice of the Trika system. Abhinavagupta's detailed commentary named ***Vivaraṇa*** on it throws light on many of such esoteric practices expressed very often through the method of mysticism. It is thus one of the most important works on the theology of the Trika system of Śaivism.
7. The most important original work of Abhinavagupta is ***Tantrāloka***. It contains the essence of all the scriptural works of monistic Śaivism. Esoteric doctrines of ***Trika Yoga***, lying scattered in the ***Trika*** scriptures and expressed there through a highly mystic method, were collected, compiled, arranged in a proper order, systematized philosophycally and expressed in a lucid style by Abhinavagupta in that voluminous work. All the relevant principles of philosophy have also been discussed there, side by side, by the great author. Besides, the work deals with all the important rituals of the Trika system through a philosophic method and contains thus a finer theological study as well. It is in this way a unique work on the practical side of spiritual philosophy and throws immense light

4. M.M.P., pp. 133, 142.
5. P. Tr. V., p. 116.
6. (i) Ibid, p. 236
   (ii) T.A.V., vol. III, p. 191.

on many obscure and mystic topics of Śaivite ***Sādhanā*** through a philosophic method and style.

8. ***Tantrasānra*** of Abhinavagupta is just a summary of his ***Tantrāloka*** written in lucid prose style. It is very often simpler and clearer than the latter but lacks in the details of the subject.
9. One more highly important and independent work of Abhinavagupta is his ***Mālinī-vijaya-vārtika*** dealing with the esoteric doctrines of theoretical and practical aspects of Śaiva monism as expressed mystically in the ***Mālinī-vijayottara tantra*** of the Trika system. This work discusses in detail many principles and doctrines of a highly profound character. Such an important work should have been explained by some scholars in the line of the disciples of Abhinavagupta. The work, though of very high academic merit, has not so far become sufficiently popular for want of such elucidative commentary. Kṣemarāja should have tried his pen on such a work instead of the simple Tantric scriptures like ***Svacchanda*** and ***Netra*** Tantras.
10. Abhinavagupta had composed another such work on the previous (pūrva) portion of ***Mālinī-tantra***. It was known as ***Pūrva-pañcikā***. He had written some other such ***Pañcikās***, referred by him, on practical Śaivism. But all of them have been lost.
11. Ādiśeṣa had written a philosophic work named ***Paramārtha-sāra*** at a time when theistic Sāṃkhya, Vaiṣṇavism and Ūpaniṣadic Vedānta had not yet developed as distinctly separate schools of philosophy. Abhinavagupta was attracted by its merits of clear and accurate expression. He liked it but did not approve of its Vaiṣṇavite character. So he revised it, gave it a Śaivite form and presented it to readers as a good text book of monistic Śaivism useful for beginners. It can serve even now as a good text book of Kashmir Śaivism at the level of M.A. Saṃskrit and M.A. Philosophy.
12. Some other easy and brief text books and some philosophic poems written by Ahinavagupta for the

sake of beginners are :

(i) *Bodhapañcadaśikā* dealing with the very fundamental principles of the philosophy of Kashmir Śaivism.
(ii) *Paramārthacarcā*, a brief work that can serve as an aid in the *Jñānadīkṣā* of the Trika Yoga of the highest type.
(iii) *Anuttarāṣṭikā*, a small work of the same character as above.
(iv) *Anubhava-nivedana-stotra*, a philosophic lyric describing the Yogic experiences attainable through the practice of some esoteric *mudrās*.
(v) *Bhairavastotra*, a beautiful religio-philosophic lyric expressing the view of a perfect yogin towards life, death, misery etc.
(vi) *Dehastha-devatā-cakra-stotra* explaining an important element of monistic ritual worship of the Lord.
(vii) *Kramastotra* discussing in detail the mystic doctrines of *Kāliyoga* as prevalent among the adherents of Kashmir Śaivism.

In addition he wrote many minor works on Śaivism which have been lost and composed several important works on some other subjects like dramaturgy, literary criticism, logic and so on.

Abhinavagupta alone could explain correctly the works of Somānanda and Utpaladeva as he was equally advanced in yogic attainments and scholarship. He alone could write works like *Tantrāloka, Mālinī-vijaya-vārtika* and *Parātriṃśakā-vivaraṇa*, because as a saint-scholar he possessed the highly valuable merits listed below :

(i) He had the deepest direct realization of the principles of the monistic Śaiva philosophy of Kashmir.
(ii) He had sufficient experience in the practice of the highest methods of yoga of both the Trika and the Kula systems.

(iii) He possessed a very sharp intelligence capable to form a correct conceptual understanding of the truth experienced through a non-conceptual direct realization.

(iv) He had complete command over language and could express rightly and clearly whatever he experienced and understood.

(v) He was a master of logic and ***mīmāṃsā*** and could therefore discuss topics of philosophy with great efficiency.

(vi) He knew the secrets of the theories of all the schools of thought and succeeded in examining them critically in a convincing manner.

(vii) He lived a long life resulting in a high maturity in experience, thought and expression and could render an immensely valuable service to more than one prevalent subjects of study.

It is a pity that all except one of his disciples were interested only in the tasteful experiences of self-realization and did not, consequently, develop any remarkable active interest in academic pursuits with the result that many of his very important works remained unexplained and unelucidated. Even Kṣemarāja, who is proud of his being the disciple of Abhinavagupta, did not touch any of his works. He wrote commentaries on Śivasūtra, Spandaśāstra, some Tāntric works and some philosophic poems, but did not take up the task of explaining the works of greater importance written by his master. The duty of commenting upon ***Tantrāloka*** fell down upon Jayaratha a hundred years after Kṣemarāja. ***Īśvarapratyabhijñā-vimarśinī*** was explained by Bhāskarakaṇṭha by the close of the eighteenth century. Some other important works of that great author of Kashmir Śaivism are still lying unexplained. Śiva alone knows as to who will be so fortunate as to write notes on them.

CHAPTER VII

Authors of Secondary Importance

ŚIVĀNANDA NĀTHA

A special type of ***Śāktopāya*** was discovered by a Siddha named Śivānanda-nātha in the eighth century at some ***Uttra-peeṭha***. He introduced it to the Śaiva aspirants of Kashmir through his disciples and grand disciples. It is known as ***Krāmanaya*** or ***Kālinaya***. Kālī is the name given here to that divine power of the Absolute God which brings about the manifeestation of the trinity of knowing subject, known object and the means of the action of knowing termed in Indian philosophy as ***Pramātṛ Prameya*** and ***Pramāṇa***. All these three points of the triangle of the phenomenal existence pass through the divine activities of Kālī in creation, preservation and dissolution at the planes of perfect unity, unity in diversity and complete diversity and their basic seeds lie in the all containing transcendental aspect of Kālī. Kālī appears thus as conducting divine activities in the phenomenon in her ($3 \times 4 = 12$) twelve aspects and such aspects of the Godhead of God, personified as twelve female deities, are the twelve Kālīs which become the targets of contemplation in the practice of ***Krama-naya*** of Śivānanda.

An aspirant has to visualize the symbolic form of a Kālī and has to contemplate on its essence and to identify it with his own self so that he feels that his own power is conducting the divine activity concerned, termed as a special type of ***kalanā*** or manifestation. All the twelve Kālīs are to be contemplated upon, one by one, in a regular order of success-

ion so that the theistic nature of an aspirant becomes perfectly impressed on him through such contemplative practice conducted regularly. That is the essence of the Yoga conducted through the method of *Kālīnaya*.

Krama is the Sanskrit word that denotes succession. Since contemplative practice of Kālīnaya is to be conducted in accordance with a definite Krama of the twelve aspects of Kālī in such practice of subjective yoga, it is popularly known as *Krama-yoga*. It became very much popular by the time of Jayaratha (12th Century), so much so that he recognizes ***Trika, Kula*** and ***Krama*** as three separate and independent systems of practice in Śaiva yoga. Abhinavagupta incorportes ***Krama-yoga*** in ***Śāktopāya*** as it is the same when examined philosophically. It is on such examination that he takes Kaula system as identical with the Trika system saying that ***Vāma*** and ***Dakṣiṇa*** systems become one in Trika and are called as ***Kaula***.

"*Ekatra militaṃ Kaulaṃ Śrī-ṣaḍardhaka-Śāsane*." (T.A. 37-26). But if both are examined thoroughly in the aspect of their practice, these appear as two distinct systems. Seeing them through such view he says that Trika is superior to Kula. '*Tata evātra sarvottaratvam, Kula-śāstrebhyopyādhikyāt*. "*Kulāt parataraṃ Trikam*." "*It is sarvo-ttaratvam*." (P. Tr. V, p. 259). That is the result of examining the things philosophically as well as practically.

We do not have at present any work composed by Śivānanda-nātha, but two verses from his pen have been preserved in quotations in the commentary on ***Tantrāloka*** (Vol. III, p. 197) by Jayaratha and that proves him to have been an author as well. He imparted the method of Kālīnaya to his three female disciples named Keyūravatī, Madanikā and Kalyāṇikā. Keyūravatī imparted it to Govindarāja who initiated Somānanda in it. It reached Jayaratha through a line of teacher and taught. Madanikā initiated Cakrabhānu, known as Bhānuka as well, and his teachings reached Abhinavagupta through Udbhaṭa, the disciple of Ujjata. This Udbhaṭa should not be confused with the author of ***Udbhaṭālaṅkāra*** who was the chairman of the council of King Jayāpīḍa (800 A.D.). Abhinavagupta mentions the name of Udbhaṭa in Tantrāloka among his teachers. Apabhraṃaśa passages quoted

by Abhinavagupta in his *Tantrasāra* and *Parātriśikāvivaraṇa* may have been taken from the writings of any of the three female disciples of Śivānandanātha. Such female teachers may have, according to the ancient tradition, preferred the language of common people to Sanskirt, the language of only the educated class of society in such use.

Teachers of Ktama System

Some of the twelve Kalis have been eulogised in *cidgagana-candrikā*, a very beautiful and effective philosophic lyric by some philosopher poet named Śrīvatsa, as he calls himself. The name of the poet was wrongly taken and announced by the first editor of the lyric as Kālidāsa and he is still being taken as Kālidāsa by Pandits, authors and research scholars. The poet meant to say that he was a servant of Kālī, the Divine Mother and says in clear terms that the poem was composed by 'Śrṭvatsa.' He must have been a practitioner of Krama system. Another such philosopher poet is Siddhanātha. He also wrote such a hymn under the title *Kramastotra* and Abhinavagupta wrote a commentary named *Kramakeli* on it. Both have been lost since long, but Jayaratha has preserved fourteen verses of Kramastotra and a few pages of *Kramakeli* as quotations given by him in his commentary on *Tantrāloka*. Abhinavagupta wrote himself a *Kramastotra* which is available even now. Names of several works on the system have been mentioned in some commentaries on some important works on Kashmir Śaivism, e.g. *Krama-Sadbhāva*, *Kramarahasya*, *Kulakramodaya*, *Kramasūtra* etc.

Rāmakanṭha

A scholar named ,Nārāyaṇa came to Kashmir from Kannauj and settled here probably in the time of Lalitāditya (8th century). Muktākaṇa was one of his descendents who become a member of the royal association of scholars during the reign of Avantivarman (9th Centruy), A younger brother of Muktākaṇa was Rāmakaṇṭha who was a disciple of Utpala-

deva. Two important works from his pen are available at present. One of them is ***Śpanda-vivṛti*** which explains ***Śpandakārikā*** of Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa in occordance with the brief Vṛtti written by the author himself. His Vivṛti presents the traditional interpretation of ***Spandak***ārikā. It appears from his work that hewas not only a scholar of great ability but was also a meritorious practitioner of Śaiva Yoga of the Trika system. Another work by him is his commentary on Bhagavadgītā, named Sarvatobhadra. Two of the main characteristics of it are quite remarkable. Firstly, it explains the text of Gītā with the help of Gitā itself. It interprets the controversial terms of philosophy and theology, occurring in Bhagavadgītā, in accordance with the sense carried by them in the Gītā itself. That is the method adopted originally by Yāska in interpreting doubtful and difficult words in ***Veda-mantras.*** Secondly, the commentary concerned is not over burdened with the principles of different schools of philosophy, nor does it carry away a reader by means of references to and quotations from other ***Śāstras.*** Besides one more special characteristic of the commentary is the text of Bhagavadgītā. Rāmakaṇṭha follows its Kashmirian text which was prevalent at that time in the northern recension of Mahābhārata. The Southern text of Bhagavadgītā was imported to Kashmir in the later part of the fifteenth century. It was brought into the valley by those Pandits of Kashmir who, having fled the Valley during the rule of Sikandar, were rehabilitated there by Zainulabadin. An earlier commentator, Bhagavad-bhāskara, also followed the northern text of Bhagvadgītā and so did Abhinavagupta in the tenth century. The interpretation of Rāmakaṇṭha dispels many doubts that rise on account of some apparent contradictions in Bhagavadgītā e.g., criticism of Vedas in II-45, 46; stating yoga as higher to Jñāna (III-46) Lord Krishnaś taking refuge in the feet of some deity other than him (XV-1); time of death resulting in liberation and bondage (VIII-23 to 25) and so on. The time of Rāmakaṇṭha is the later part of the ninth century.

Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara

The most ancient commentary available at present on Śivasūtra is the ***Śiva-sūtra-vārtika*** of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara. He belonged to the seventh upper step in the line of the teachers of Śaivism starting from Vasugupta. His interpretation of Śivasūtra is the traditional one, come down to him through an unbroken line of teachers. He states to have been the son of Bhaṭṭa Divakara and that tempts scholars to think that he may have been Bhaṭṭa-Divakaravatsa whose Vivekāñjana and Kakṣyāstotra have been quoted by Abhinavagupta and Yogarāja. But since a verse from Kaṣyāstotra has been quoted by Rāmakaṇṭha in his ***Spandavivṛti***, Bhaṭṭa Divākaravatsa must have been an ancient philosopher poet belonging to the earlier part of the 9th century. On the other hand, Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara may have belonged to a far later age as the fourth scholar in the line of his teachers was Bhaṭṭa Pradyunma, who was older than Somānanda (9th century). Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara may have thus belonged to the middle of the tenth century A.D. Abhinavagupta, while paying respect to his teachers in his *Tantrāloka*, makes a mention of some Bhāskara among them and it is highly probable that such teacher of the great philosopher may have been this author of ***Śivasūtravārtika.*** Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara gives a brief introduction to the subject matter of each sūtra before providing its interpretation in verses called ***vārtikas***. He alone has given some items of particular information about Śivasūtra. Firstly, he says that the work Śivasūtra contained four parts, while at present all the recensions of the work have only three parts. Abhinavagupta quotes in his ***Īśvara-partyabhijñāvivṛtivimarśinī*** (vol. II, p. 301) a sūtra of Śiva which is not found in any of the available texts of the work. It is therefore possible that the Sūtra concerned may have been taken from its fourth part, which is not available now. Kṣemarāja also qoutes some Sūtras of Śiva which can have belonged to that fourth part of the work (Sp. S, p. 25). Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara says further that Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa composed ***Spandasūtra*** to explain the matter contained in the first three parts of Śivsūtra and wrote a commentary named ***Tattvārthacintāmaṇi*** on the fourth part of

the work. Quotations from *Tattvārthacintāmaṇi* are available in the works of Kṣemarāja and Utpala Vaiṣṇava, but the work itself has been lost. Abhinavagupta also mentions the name of that important commentary on Śivasūtra. Besides, he mentions another commentary on it by Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa and the name of such commentary was, in his words, *Madhuvāhinī*.

Kṣemarāja, an author belonging to the eleventh century, tried to find new interpretations to the Sūtras of Śiva and to *Spandakārikā* but Bhāskara, being highly devoted to the teachings of his preceptors, adhered to the traditional interpretation, come down to him through an unbroken line of preceptors. His Vārtika is thus of immense importance though it has not so far become popular for want of a detailed commentary. The Vārtika is itself very brief at many places. But if a scholar dives deep in the theology of Kashmir Śaivism, he will find the interpretation by Bhāskara as much more appropriate than that by Kṣemarāja. Bhāskara appears to have been a highly successful practitioner of Śaiva yoga, having a direct intuitional experience of the principles of the theory and the doctrines of practice of Kashmir Śaivism as contained in Śivasūtra. There are a few minor variations in the text of Śivasūtra as followed by Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara and Kṣemarāja.

Utpala-Vaiṣṇava

Spandakārikā of Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa bears several commentaries and the most scholarly one among them is the *Spandapradīpikā* of Utpala Vaiṣṇava. He is called vaiṣṇava on account of his having ardent faith in Pāñcarātra Vaiśñavism and also to differenciate him from the great Utpaladeva, the author of Īśvarapratyabhijñā. As he has said in his *Pradīpikā*, he was the son of Trivikrama, living at Naraynasthana, the modern Nore in Tral area of the Valley. He was a highly well read scholar and his commentary on *Spandakārikā* is a treasure of historical information about many unknown and controversial points. For instance :

1. He says in clear terms that Spandakārikā was com-

posed in about fifty couplets by Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa though secret doctrines of Spanda were learnt by him from his preceptor, Vasugupta.

2. He alone provides information regarding some other works by Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa. e.g., ***Tattvavicāra*** and ***Svasvabhāva-sambodhana***.
3. He alone gives information about Siddhnātha as having been the author of ***Abhedārthakārikā*** as well.

As has been already said above, this Utpala was basically a Vaiṣṇava of the Pañcarātra sect. He quotes profusely from many scriptures of that school and tries his utmost to establish that the Pāñcarātra system of Vaiṣṇavism was in no way inferior in merit to the Trika system of Śaivism. He quotes Vaiṣṇava scriptures just to prove parallelism between them and Spandakārikā. He tried thus to raise the respect of the scriptures of his faith in the eyes of scholars by trying to bring them up to a similarity with the famous work of Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa whose importance as a ***siddha*** (a perfect being) and a scholar was thoroughly established in the Valley. Some scholars feel that this Utpala may have switched over to Śaivism with the help of a special rite called ***Lingoddhāra***. but a thorough study of his Spanda-pradīpikā reveals clearly that he was definitely a staunch adherent of ***Pāñcarātra*** Vaiṣṇavism but, being a great scholar, was highly impressed by ***Spandaśāstra*** of Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa. Trying his utmost to elevate the Pāñcarātra system to the position equal to that enjoyed by Spanda-śastra, he reminds a reader about the remarks made by Abhinavagupta in his ***Tantrāloka*** (T.A. xiii 316-320) against such adherent followers of lower systems of philosophy who try to mix up Śaivism with any lower system of practice, especially that of theology.

Utpala Vaiṣṇava, being a highly well read scholar of all the subjects of study, prevalent in his time, would in no case have ignored all the works of Abhinavagupta, but would have immensely quoted from them if he had appeared after him. Therefore he shall have to be placed some time before that great author. But, having mentioned Siddhanātha, he

can not be pushed to any far ancient age because, as recorded by Pṛthvīdhara in his *Bhuvaneśvarīstotra*, Siddhanātha and Śambhunātha were two names of one and the same siddha who may have, most probably, been the great preceptor of Abhinavagupta. Utpalavaiṣṇava can thus be placed between Śambhunatha and Abhinavagupta. Thus says Pṛthvīdhara:

Śrī Siddhanātha karuṇākra Śambhunātha;
Śrī Śambhunāth Karuṇākra Siddhanātha. (Bh. St. 40)
श्री सिद्धनाथ करुणाकर शम्भुनाथ,
श्री शम्भुनाथ करुणाकर सिद्धनाथ। (भु० श्लो० 40)

The work of Utpala Vaiṣṇava is thus of high importance though it does not contribute anything new to the Trika system of Kashmir Śaivism.

Abhinavagupta II

Abhinavagupta mentions the names of some of his disciples in his Tantrāloka and his cousine Abhinava is one among such disciples. It is probably that Abhinava who wrote *Tantravaṭadhānikā* which is a gist of Tantrasāra of Abhinavagupta I. It is not the work of the famous Ahhinavagupta because firstly, its general character does not suggest it to be his work, secondly, it does not hint towards *anubandha-catuṣṭaya* and thirdly, the colophones in it mention the author as *Abhinavagupta-viśeṣa*. Besides, its composition is neither so scholarly nor so artistic as to be a work of the great Abhinavagupta. It presents a clear outline of the system of Trika Sādhanā as given in *Tantrasāra*.

Kṣemarāja

Just as Gaṅgeśa gave a new turn to the style of Indian logic from simplicity towards complexity and from clarity towards abscurity, so did Kṣemaraja do with Kashmir Śaivism. Abhinavagupta had already carried it to the climax of clarification and had not left any important stone unturned in the

fields of its theory and practice, so much so that Kṣemarāja did not find any scope to impress his ability as a scholar and a writer on the great pandits of the age. Besides, all other disciples of Abhinavagupta were so much interested in tasting the sweet experiences of self realization that they did not diverge from such course to devote themselves to academic activities. None among them may have bothered to become an all round scholar. Kṣemarāja was thus the only one among them who could be proud of being a scholar and a writer. Finding it difficult to get himself established as a meritorious writer by means of making things clear, he chose to make them complex and unintelligible. Similar policy was adopted by Bhāravi to Indian poety after Kālidāsa had carried it to the climax of evolution.

Besides, Kṣemarāja appears to have been jealous of the popularity of Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa whose admirers must not have appreciated his ways of complex academic activity. Abhinavagupta shows profound respectfulness whenever he mentions Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa, but Kṣemaraja refers to him disrespectfully in singular number and without any epithet showing respect. Some times he refers to him as 'Kaścit.' On account of such jealousy, Kṣemarāja tried to overshadow Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa by means of finding out new interpretations to ***Śivasūtra*** and ***Spandakārikā.*** He is the only author of Śaivism who possessed such tendencies towards ancient teachers like Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa. His commentary on ***Spandakārikā*** contains an additional couplet which provides a hint towards the authorship of Vasugupta with respect to Kārikā and he says in clear terms that the Kārikā was written by Vasugupta himself. That is just to deprive Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa of the credit of such authorship. Such additional couplet does not exist in the text of either ***Spanda-vṛtti*** by Kallaṭa or ***Spanda-vivṛti*** by Rāmakaṇṭha, a younger contemporary of the author of the Kārikā. It appears that Abhinavagupta was aware of such tendencies in Kṣemarāja and did not approve of them. It was perhaps on such account that he did not mention the name of Kṣemarāja anywhere while naming his disciples in several works like Tantrāloka.

Kṣemarāja is proud of having been a grand disciple of Abhinavagupta. It should therefore have been his duty to

write illucidative commentaries on his important works. He did not do it, with the result that ***Mālinīvijaya-vārtika*** and ***Tantrasāra*** do not even now bear any commentary, ***Parātrīśikā-vivaraṇa*** has not been clarified by means of notes and the colossal task of writing a detailed commentary on ***Tantrāloka*** remained pending till the twelfth century when Jayaratha filled such a big gap. In stead Kṣemarāja wrote many commentaries on works of minor importance and composed independent works in a complex and unintelligible style to show his all round scholarship and his ability as a wonderful writer.

Abhinavagupta mentions the name of one of his cousins simply as Ksema, using the word Gupta at the close of the *dvandva* compound grouping together five of them as "***Kṣemotpalābhinava cakraka-padma-guptaḥ.***" Some scholars of the present age identify this Ksemagupta with Kṣemarāja. All the five of them have Gupta as their surname, while Kṣemaraja did not have it. He belonged to that family of learned teachers which had already produced scholars like Bhūtirāja, Helārāja, Indurāja, Adityarāja etc. and was in fact quite different a person from Kṣemagupta. Kṣemaraja composed the works listed below—

1. ***Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya,*** a work in sūtra style explained by the means of a detailed commentary. It deals with a few fundamental principles of Śaiva monism mixing the topics of theory with those of practice in such a way as to create an awe in the minds of readers who take it as sommething extraordinarily mysterious and profound in character.
2. ***Spanda-sandoha*** is a brief work discussing the Spanda principle of Śaivism, as expressed in ***Spanda-kārikā.***
3. ***Spandanirṇaya*** is a detailed commentary on Spanda-kārikā, giving some new interpretations to some of its couplets and arranging the division of its chapters differently.
4. ***Parāprāveśikā*** is a small and easy work on monistie Śaivism and can serve as a very useful textbook fit for beginners.

5. The most important work from his pen is *Śivasūtra-Vimarśinī*. That work also betrays the same tendency of giving fresh interpretations and disagreeing with previous commentators. Kṣemarāja names the three chapters of Śivasūtra as *Śāmbhava*, *Śākta* and *Āṇva upāyas*, which is not borne out by their contents. Vareties of *Śākta* and *Āṇva Upāyas*, as discussed by Abhinavagupta, are not at all contained in the 2nd and the 3rd chapters of Śivasūtra. The headings given to them by Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara are quite appropriate. Kṣemarāja does not take as great pains to explain the profound doctrines contained in the Sūtras as he takes to show his all round scholarship by quoting passages from many other philosophic works. It is the Vārtika of Varadarāja which makes it clear as to what Kṣemarāja intended to say through his *Vimarśinī* with respect to many sūtras of Śiva. The Vārtika of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara is much more appealing than the *Vimarśinī* of Kṣemarāja with respect to general outlook as well as the interpretation of many sutras in which these differ.

6 & 7. Commentaries on *Svacchanda* and *Netra* Tantras.

8 to *10*. Commentaries on Stotra works like (i) *Śivastotrāvalī* of Utpaladeva, (ii) *Stavacintāmaṇi* of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa and (iii) *Sāmba-Pañcāśikā* and the commentary on Vijñāna-bhairava, only a few pages of which are available. He wrote some stotras which are not available.

Varadarāja (11th Century)

Madhurāja was that disciple of Abhinavagupta who, having come from such a far away land as Kerala, stayed in his school for several years and described both the school and the master in Kavya style in his *Gurunātha-parāmarśa*. His son Varadarāja also came to Kashmir and learnt Kashmir Śaivism from Kṣemarāja. He composed another *Vārtika* on *Śivasūtra* which renders help in understanding the Vima-

rśinī of Kṣemarāja. Varadaraja follows naturally his teacher Kṣemarāja in his general outlook on the Sūtras of Śiva and in their interpretation, both of which are different from those of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara.

Yogarāja (11th Century)

Paramārthasāra of Abhinavagupta is a very good text book of Kashmir Śaivism. *Parāpraveśikā* touches just the fundamental principles of that philosophy but *Paramārathasāra* throws light on most of its essential topics. Yogarāja, a disciple of Kṣemarāja, wrote a detailed commentary on it. That commentary is scholarly in its character and helps a lot in grasping many philosophic principle of Kashmir Śaivism.

Jayaratha

Several scholars had written notes on *Tantrāloka* and the most prominent one among such writers was Subhaṭadatta, who taught Tantrāloka to both Jayaratha and his teacher Kalyāṇa, who was, most probably, the same poet as Kalhaṇa, the famous author of *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Jayarath was a great scholar having done all round study of the subjects being studied in his time. Besides, he was a practitioner of Śaivayoga and was well versed in the practices of Trika, Kula and Krama systems. On such account of his matchless scholarship and well done practice in Tāntric *sādhanā*, he took the courage to write a detailed commentary on such a colossal work on the Trika system of philosophy, theology and ritual, as the Tantrāloka of Abhinavagupta. His commentary on that important work is named *Viveka*. It serves even now as the most essential aid in the study of *Tantrāloka*, though it is not quite clear about several points and topics. Some esoteric topics of practice, like *mantras* have not been fully explained in it because such was the policy of the teachers of Tantrism right from its start.

In addition to its being a guide to the study of Tantrāloka, the Viveka by Jayaratha is a storehouse of historical information regarding Kashmir Śaivism. The history of the

appearance and spread of *Kālī-upāsanā* of *Krama*-system has been provided to us only in that commentary of Jayaratha on Tantrāloka. *Kramakeli* of Abhinavagupta has been lost but its several pages have been preserved by Jayaratha in it in a long quotation. Many scriptural and philosophic works by ancient authors are known to as only through that commentary by Jayaratha. Quotations of sufficient lengths from many Śaiva Āgamas have been given in it at many places. Many authors and important works on Śaiva monism would have remained unknown had not Jayaratha provided information about them. Much of the practical side of Kashmir Śaivism would have remained quite obscure if such a commentary by Jayaratha would not have survived the great destruction of Sanskrit literature in Kashmir in the first part of the fifteenth century under the rule of Sultan Sikandar.

Vamakeśvarīmata, another work by Jayaratha, dealing with some typical *Tāntric* practices, is also available. Both he and his brother Jayadratha wrote jointly a Purāṇic work on Śaiva ritual with respect to religious traditions of the domestic aspect of Śaivism. Such work is *Haracarita-cintāmṇī*. They lived at Vijayeśvara, the modern Bejbehāra, in the twelfth century. He is the most important post-Abhinavagupta author of Kashmir Śaivism.

Virūpākṣanātha

A semi-mythological work on monistic Śaiva philosophy, named *Virūpākṣa-pañcaśikā* is ascribed to some *siddha* named Virūpākṣanātha. It deals with certain very important doctrines and principles of Śaiva monism and bears a commentary by some Sanskrit scholar who gives his name as *Vidyācakra-varti*, and mentions the name of Govindacandra as his patron. Such name may have been the title conferred on him by Govindacandra, the father of Vijacandra and grandfather of Jayacandra of Kannauj who was the patron of the great Sanskrit poet Srīharṣa as well.

The commentator may have lived in the Ganjetic plane about the 12th century A.D. The special technique of Virūpākṣanātha in discussing some topics of Śaiva monism

is strictly his own. Though he does not follow the path of the previous authors in such regard, yet the essence of his views on the principles and doctrines of Śaiva monism are not at all different.

Śivopādhyāya

The last important ancient writer on Kashmir Śaivism is Śivopādhyāya who wrote a detailed and scholarly commentary on ***Vijñānabhairava***, a Tantric text dealing with some esoteric and mysterious practices in Trikayoga of Kashmir Śaivism. He lived in the eighteenth century and wrote during the rule of Sukhajīvan, a governnor of Kashmir under the Pathans of Kābul. His commentary on ***Vijñānabhairava*** is very helpful in understanding many doctrines of Śaivayoga though his explanations of some practices are not quite satisfactory. He was a very prominent teacher and preceptor of his age and the lines of his disciples are still going on in Kashmir. One more work written by him is Śrīvidyā which brings about a synthesis of the monistic Śaivism and the Upanisadic Vedānta. It lies in manuscript form.

Kaula Authors

Some ancient authors of Kaulism are enjoying popularity with the Śaivas of Kashmir even now and the manuscripts of their works were found at Srinagar in good numbers. The earliest one among such writers is Śitikaṇṭha belonging to the thirteenth century. Following a Tantric text named ***Vāmakeśvarīmata***, he composed a work named ***Mahānayaprakāśa*** in Kashmirian Apabhramśa language, spoken there by the common man in that age. He added to it a commentary in Sanskrit. That work is of a greater interest to a linguist than to a student of philosophy. The most important one among such Kaulas who adopted Śaiva monism as their philosophy, is Maheśvarānanda of Cola country in the far South. He composed a work named ***Mahārthamañjarī in*** Mahārāṣṭra Apabhramśa and wrote a detailed commentary named Parimala, on it in Sanskrit. An abridged edition

of ***Māhārthamañjari-parimala*** enjoyed popularity in Kashmir and was published at Srinagar. The complete Parimala is popular among pandits throughout India. Maheśvarānanda was a great yogin and a master of the Kaula system of practical Śaivism. His Parimala is also a storehouse of information regarding many works and authors of Tantric Śaivism. According to the editor of the Parimala, Mahesvàrānanda belonged to the fourteenth century.

Svatantrānandanātha is another Kaula author who wrote ***Matrikā-cakra-viveka***. He applied complete ***svātantrya*** (independence) to his art of writing a ***śāstra*** and composed the above work quite in accordance with his own independent technique and method, mixing up principles of philosophy with the divine visions, roused by the practice of Tantric yoga. The main subject dealt with in his work is the worship of the divine powers of God visualized as deities stationed in Śricakra, the symbol of the whole complex phenomenal existence. Many subtle ideas about the philosophic principles of Śaiva monism have been expressed in it through a wonderful ability in diction. The work bears a commentary but, unfortunately, the commentator happens to be a Vedantic and not a Tāntric Śaiva. Therefore certain points have been missed and certain have been confused with Vivartavāda in it. Svatantrānanda Natha may have probably been a Mahārāṣtrian. The manuscripts of his work have not been found in Kashmir.

Puṇyānada is another Kaula author of Śaivism. He wrote ***Kāmakala-vilāsa*** to explain the symbolic significance of ***Śricakra***. The worship of Śricakra was prevalent among Śaivas from the most ancient ages. Sage Durvāsas discussed the theological essence of ***Śricakra*** through the medium of charming poetry in his ***Lalitā-stava-ratnam***. Amṛtānanda, a disciple of Puṇyānada, wrote a commentary on ***Kāmakalā-vilāsa***. Either he or his teacher Puṇyānada wrote a small work on the philosophy of Śaiva monism under the title ***Cidvilāsa***. Amṛtānanda's commentary, named ***Dipikā*** on ***Yoginihṛdaya***, a Tantric text, is another storehouse of references and quotations and is therefore very valuable from historical point of view. Vātūlanātha is another such author

who wrote a small work named ***Vātūlanātha-Sūtra.*** It cannot be said with certainty as to which country did such Nāthas belong. Some of them have been popular with the Śaivas of Kashmir and their works in manuscript from have been found in good numbers at Srinagar. ***Varivasyārahasya*** of Bhāskararāya of the far South is also such a work on Śāktic sādhanā of Śaiva monism. Kashmir produced a vary important Kaula author in the time of Shahi-jahaṅ. He was Sāhib Kaula Ānandanātha who roamed in Indian planes during the reign of Aurangazeb and stayed for a considerable time at Jodhpur in the court of Jasvant Singh. He is remembered even now by Sāktas at Jodhpur. His ***Devināma-vilāsa***, a long poetical work, praises the Mother Goddess in one thousand verses, each verse eulogizing Her in one of Her thousand names. Its style is, like that of many other later Sanskrit poems, sufficiently laboured and artificial and the verses are rather difficult to understand. Many of his other works are lying still unpublished.

Recent Writers

Bhāskara Kaṇṭha, a scholar of Srinagar, wrote a commentary named Bhāskarī in order to explain the Vimarśinī of Abhinavagupta on the Īśvarapratyabhijñā of Uppaladeva. It helps a lot in understanding the essence of the philosophical discussions with respect to controversies between Buddhism and Śaivism and explains the highly logical arguments of Abhinavagupta on many points of philosophy. But, inspite of his efficiency in the study of Śaivism, Bhāskarahaṇaṭha did not grasp the exact sense of the discussions and arguments at several places where he made amendments to the text of ***Vimarśinī*** for the sake of his convenience. The text of Vimarśinī, as published in Bhāskarī, requires many corrections in the light of the study of ***Vivṛti-Vimarśinī***. The text of ***Vimarśinī***, as published in Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, is comparatively correct, though it also contains some mistakes basically commited by scribes who transcripted ancient manuscripts. Bhāskara Kaṇṭha appeared towards the close of the Mughal rule in Kashmir.

His grandson, Manasārām, popularly known as Manasrāzdān, attained prominence during the Paṭhān rule. Being disgusted with their tyranic administration, he left Kashmir and settled finally at Kiladār in Wazirabād area of Punjab and attained great fame in the country as a Saint scholar. His āśrama and temple at Kiladār are still maintained by local Muslims as its Hindu priests and managers had to leave the place in 1947 when Pākistan was established as a separate country. Mansāram composed a fresh work on Śaivism under the title *Svātantryapipikā* in sūtra style and added a Sanskrit commentary to it. It has not been published by any publisher so far but is available in manuscript form. The tradition of writing of commentaries and fresh works on Śaivism continues still in Kashmir. *Svātantryadarpaṇa*, a fresh work in couplets in the Ārya metre, along with explanatory notes in Sanskrit, composed by the author of the work in hand, has been recently published by Ranbir Vidyāpeetha of the Central Government of India at Jammu. Its English edition is also going to be published in the near future. But the rapid and drastic socio-economic changes, brought about by quick democracy, have now shaken the small community of the Pandits of Kashmir. Therefore the traditions of teaching and learning, as also of activities in some meaningful research on Śaivism, are now fastly coming to a close in the Valley. The āshram of Swāmī Lakṣman jee is now there the only centre of propagation of the subject which is still doing some useful service in its own way. Some Sanskrit institutions at some centres of Sanskrit learning like Vārāṇasī should now encourage and patronise Kashmir Śaivism, so that the tradition of the sweet and divine light of its teaching and learning is saved from a total extinction.

CHAPTER VIII

Saiva Nagarjuna

Several great persons under the name Nāgārjuna appeared in our country. The most prominent one among them is the famous teacher of the ***Mādhyamika*** school of Buddhism who lived in the South and stayed in Kashmir for some years about the time of the fourth Buddhist conference arranged there by Kaniṣka. It is on such account that Kalhaṇa took him as a ***bodhisattva*** belonging to Kashmir and living at Ṣaḍarhadvana, the modern Hārvan.

Next famous Nāgārjuna is the master of Indian medicinal chemistry whose several works on the subject are known. The third famous Nāgārjuna is an important teacher of ***Vajrayāna*** school of Tāntric Buddhism. Śarahā, alias Rāhulabhadra, was a Buddhist monk of the ***Vijñānavāda*** school who learnt Tantric ***sādhanā*** of Kaula system from some Tantric teacher in the line of Macchandanātha of Assam. He practised it well and attained sufficient success in its practice. After that he presented it as a mystic school of Buddhism. He took great care in eliminating two fundamental principles of Kaula Śaivism and those are (i) the principle of theism and (ii) the principle of the existence of Ātman as a permanently existing controller of the flux of momentary mind. Besides, he translated all the technical terms of Kaulism into Buddhist terminology and presented Tantric Kaulism in such a way that it appeared as a school of Buddhism. Such efforts of Śarahā were afterwords taken up by a monk in the line of his disciples and the name of that monk also was Nāgārjuna who built further the ***Vajrayāna***

of Śarahā and carried it to a climax of development. His followers are still living in great number in Tibet and Mangolia and their Vajrayāna Buddhism is known at present as Lāmāism.

Kashmirian folklore has one more Nāgārjuna, a hero belonging to some Naga tribe who fell in love with an Aryan damsel named Hīmāl. This Nāgārjuna is popularly known as Nāgirāy. A Kashmirian poet uses the name Nāgiarzun for him. He does not have any importance in the fields of philosophy or theology but is popular in folk lore and poetry.

The greatest in merit is one more Nāgārjuna who is even now known very little to scholars and is totally unknown to public. He is Śaivāchārya Nāgārjuna. If the Mādhyamika Nāgārjuna is highly advanced in subtle logic and if the Vajrayānin Nāgārjuna has extensive works to his credit, this forgotten Śaiva Nāgārjuna is much more definite about the nature of the ultimate reality, realized directly by him through the highest type of yogic experiences. Both the Buddhist Nāgārjunas teach the truth as revealed to them in the state of *Susupti*, an extremely dreamless sleep, and this Śaiva philosopher expresses it as it shines in the fourth state of animation known as *Turyā*, the state of intuitive self-revelation. His works reveal him to be a Śaiva philosopher belonging to the school of monistic Śaivism of Kashmir. Two beautiful philosophic lyrics from his pen are available at present and those are *Paramārcana-triṃśikā* and *cittasantoṣa-triṃśikā.*

There was a tradition among Śaiva-Śākta philosophers to express philosophy through the medium of poetry. Three hymns of such type are attributed to sage Durvāsas and those are –(i) *Para-śambhu-mahima-stotra*, (ii) Lalitā-stava-ratna, and (iii) Trīparā-mahima-stotra. *Cidgagan-acandrika* of Śrīvatsa, alias Kalidasa, and *Kramastotra* of Siddhanātha alias Śambhunātha, are two more such works. *Subhagodaya* of Gandapāda and *Saundaryalahari* of Sankarāchārya as well as *Pañcastavi* of Dharmācharya show that these philosophers also adhered to Śaiva/Śākta traditions in their practice.

Some very prominent teachers of Kashmir Śaivism

expressed subtle and profound philosophic principles through an appealing technique of poetic medium. The most important works of such type are : *Stavacintāmaṇi* of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, *Tattvagarbhastotra* of Bhaṭṭapradyumna and Śivastotrāvali of Utpaladeva. Abhinavagupta composed several beautiful works of such type and the important ones among them are : *Anubhava-nivedana-stotra, Anuttarāṣṭtikā, Bhairavastotra, Dehastha-devatā-cakra-stotra* and *Kramastotra. Śivajīva-daśaka of* Sāhib Kaula is another very important lyric of such type. The above mentioned two lyrics of Śaiva Nāgārjuna also are two highly beautiful poetic works of that very type. These are bighly sweeter than any other such work.

No quatations from either of these two lyrics of Nāgārjuna are available in any work of any ancient Kashmirian author of Śaivism. The only quotation that has so far been traced by the writer of there lines is a verse from *Paramārcana-triṃśikā* and has been quoted by Maheśvarānanda in his *Parimala* on his own *Mahārtha-mañjari* and that quotation is :

बालिकारचितवस्त्रपुत्रिजा-क्रीडनेस सदृशं तदर्चनम् ।
यत्र शाम्यति मनो न निर्मलं स्फीतचिज्जलधिमध्यमाश्रितम् ।।
Bālikā-racita-vastra putrikā-
Krīḍanena sadṛśaṃ tadarcanam;
Yatra śāmyati mano na rırmalam
Sphıta-cijjaladhi-madhyamāśritam. (P. Tr. I)

The editor of that work has tried to prove that Maheśvarānanda flourished in the fourteenth century A.D. The time of Śaiva Nāgārjuna may have been the thirteenth century. Had it been still earlier he would have been surely quoted by Utpala Vaiṣṇava in the tenth century or by Jayaratha in the twelfth. Nothing can however be said definitely on such a point at present.

As for the domicile of this Śaiva Nāgārjuna, some people think that he lived in Kashmir because : (i) the manuscripts of his poems were found at Srinagar, and (ii) his philosophic ideas agree with those of Kashmir Śaivism. But *Pañcastavī* of Dharmāchārya is popular in Kashmir though

he belonged to Kerala. ***Maharthamañjarī*** of Mahásvarāñanda agrees with the principles of Kashmir Śāivism but the author lived in Cola country. This Nāgarjuna is still known very little even in Kashmir. A new fact has recently come to the notice of the writer of these lines in this respect. There is a sacred place of worship near the temple of Śrī Jwālāmukhī in Kāñgṛā which is known as the place of ***Siddha-Nāgārjuna.*** Kāngṛā was an important centre of Śaiva-Śākta learning and was famous under the name '***Jālandhara pīṭha***', one of the four main centres of Śāktism. A great master of Kula and Trika systems of Śaivism lived at Jālandharapīṭha in the tenth century. He was the great teacher Śambhunātha, who was the greatest living authority on these two systems of practical Śaivism. Abhinavagupta refers to his authority on the secrets of Triks sādhānà in his Tantrāloka not less than twentytwo times while giving decisions on some controversial topics. He has been referred to as the moon that raises tides in the ocean of Trika Śāstra "***Trikārthāmbhodhi-cāndramāḥ***". It is highly probable that the Śaiva Nāgārjuna was a teacher in the line of the disciples of Śambhunātha and lived at Kāñgṛā. People of Kāñgṛa, having forgotten even the name of such a great philosopher as Śāmbhunātha, do not know anything about this Śaiva Nāgārjuna, but the place of worship, known under his name, suggests beyond doubt that he practised Śaiva yoga and attained remarkable success in its practice at the sacred place concerned.

The two hymns of Nāgārjuna, being full of poetic beauty, can be classed with the best religio-philosophic lyrics. The language of the hymns is beautiful, simple and sweet. The poetic element in them is very effective and attractive and the philosophic element is not at all less in its importance. Each hymn contains thirty stanzas and an additional one which concludes it with a partial mention of the name of the poet philosopher. The colophones in both mention him as a "***Mahāmāheśvara Acārya Nāgārjuna***".

Paramārcana-triṁśikā is a poetic description of the finest Śāiva/Śakta method of realization of the self, by the self and through the self. It can be compared with the ***Parā-pūjā*** of the Kaula system of Śāktism, on one hand, and also with

the highest method of yoga of the Trika system of Kashmir Śaivism, on the other hand. This fact strengthense the inference aimed at proving his faith in the practical and theoretic aspects of Kashmir Śaivism, because both Kaula and Trika systems of practice were popular with the Śaivas of Kashmir right from the time of Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa. The merits and the wonderful results of that supreme worship (paramārcana) have been described vividly and variously and have at the same time been compared with tasteless and torturing practices in ***Haṭhayoga*** and Brahmanic penance. Such comparisons are highly poetical in their expression. The poem is composed in the metre named ***Rathoddhatā*** upto the twenty-ninth stanza. The thirtieth is in ***Vasantatilakā*** metre and the concluding one is an ***Anuṣṭubh***.

Cittā-santoṣa-triṃśikā is composed in ***Vasantatilakā***. Its thirtieth stanza is in ***Hariṇī*** metre and the concluding one is an ***Anuṣṭubh***. The hymn contains a poetic description of the state of ***jīvanmukti*** attained through the perfect and correct realization of the real character of the self. It compares in various ways the blissfulness of that state with the miseries of the previous state of bondage and the comparisons drawn are philosophically quite accurate and poetically highly effective, and attractive. The poet addresses the verses of the hymn to his own mind and congratulates it joyfully on its having attained, beyond all expectations, what was really worthy to be attained.

There is no doubt in the fact that the author, Nāgārjuna, belonged to the line of the teachers of the monistic school of Śaivism known as the ***Ardhatryambaka*** school started by ***Tryambakāditya*** I through his daughter sometime in the 3rd or the 4th century A.D. and popularized highly by Śambhunatha at the ***Jālandhara-pīṭha*** (Kangṛa) in the 10th century. It is on such account that both of his poems agree with the principles and doctrines of the Trika school of Śaiva monism. Parallels can be found between the Stanzas of these two hymns of Nāgārjuna, on one hand, and passages from some very important works on Kashmir Śaivism, on the other hand. For instance, let us examine ***Paramārcanatriṃśikā***.

Verse No. 12, depicting the emotion of an absolute

wonder, experienced in *Parā-pujā*, can be compared with *Śivasūtra*-I-12 and also with *Spandakārikā*-11. A parallel to the verse No. 15, depicting the experience of the state of liberation, even while one indulges in wordly sensual activities, can be found in *Mālinī-vijaya-Vārtika*-ii-108-109. Verse No. 24, suggesting the pantheistic outlook of the author, agrees with the *Parādvaita* principle expressed in *Bodhapañcadasikā*-14 of Abhinavagupta. The twenty-eighth stanza, describing the attitude of a Śivayogin at the highest stage of *Śāmbhava-yoga*, agrees with the first two stanzas of *Anuttarāṣṭikā* of the same author. The twenty-sixth stanza hints towards the *Śaktipāta* principle of Kashmir Śaivism as expressed in *Mālinī-vijaya-vārtika* I-697, 98. The eighth verse, depicting the power of a Śivayogin to swallow even the God of death, has parallels in *Bhairavastotra*-4, 5 of Abhinavagupta and in *Śivājīva-daśaka*-5 of Sāhib Kaula.

Similar agreements with works on Kashmir Śaivism can be found in *Citta-santosa-trimśikā* as well. For instance : Its fourth and fifth verses, depicting the view of an advanced Śivayogin with respect to objects of sensual enjoyment, agree with *Mālinī-vijaya-vārtika*-I-108, 109 referred above. The sixth one, suggesting a criticism on some torturing and austere practices of monks and *haṭhayogins*, can be compared with *Śivastotrāvalī*-I-1, 18 of Utpaladeva. The verse No. 11, depicting a viewpoint through which a yogin tastes his natural blissfulness even in some painful mundane experiences, agrees with the view of Utpaladeva as expressed by him in the same work-XX-12. The same can be observed with respect to the verse No. 24. The verse No. 26 hints towards a yogic practice of the Kaula system ef Śivayoga and has a parallel in a passage of *Śrī-rājikā* quoted in *Mahānayaprakāśa*-p. 55.

No trace of any principle or doctrine of any school of Buddhism can be found anywhere in any of these two hymns of this Śaiva Nāgārjuna. Some selected phrases from his poems, given below, strengthen his being a staunch Śaiva aspirant :

(i) Śivasangamotsavaḥ (P. Tr. 3);
(ii) Śivārcanam (Ibid-30);

(iii) Śıvabhaktibhājām, (Ibid 30);
(iv) Para-niruttara-Śaiva sampat (C.S. Tr.-14);
(v) Svacchanda-Sankara-pade (Ibid-23).

The doctrines of practical Śaivism, as hinted at in the two poems of this Śaiva Nāgārjuna, do neither agree with the austere and ridiculous practices of ***Pāśupata*** Śaivas, nor with the formal and ritualistic methods of ***Siddhānta*** Śaiva, nor with objective linga-worship of ***Viraśaivas.*** The spontaneous and sweet yoga practices of this Nāgārjuna agree fully with those of the Trika system and partly with Kaula system also, but do not have any agreement either with ***Vāma*** or with ***Dakṣiṇa*** systems of Tāntric ***Sādhanā.***

Such fact strengthens further the view that the philosopher poet belonged to the Kashmirian school of Śaiva monism because the teachers of that very school patronized only the Trika and Kaula systems of Sādhanā.

CHAPTER IX

A Flash of Self Realization

Several systems of *Sādhanā* (spiritual discipline) have been recognized in Śaivism as paths leading to self-realization. The ***Trika*** and ***Kaula*** systems were popularly prevalent among the ancient teachers of Kashmir Śaivism. Authors like Abhinavagupta, Somānanda and Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa were masters of both Trika and Kula systems. The latest important Kashmirian master of Kaulism was Sāhib Kaula Ānandanātha who lived in the time of Shahejahan and Aurangazeb. His is a clear case of ***Yoginidiksā***, an informal rite of initiation by some superior female deity resulting in a spontaneous revelation of the self in its purest and divine aspect.

When Sāhib Kaula was just a boy he was blessed by the Lord by a sudden and spontaneous flash of the direct realization of his absolute Godhead through ***Yoginidikṣā.*** Having thus realized suddenly his absolutely divine nature of Godhead, he turned at once into a poet of high merit and started to express his divine realization through the medium of a wonderfully beautiful poetry in Sanskrit language. His first verse in such context runs thus :

येनोत्कीर्णं विश्वचित्रं स्वाभित्तौ
नानावर्णैश्चित्रितं येन भक्त्या ।
अन्ते स्वस्मिन् नृत्यते येन हृत्वा
सोऽहं साहिन्कौलकारामशम्भुः ॥
Yenotkīrṇaṃ viśvacitraṃ sva-bhittau
Nānā-varṇaiś citritaṃ yena bhaktyā

Ante svasmin nṛtyate yena hṛtvā
Soham Sāhib-kaulakārāma-Śambhuḥ

I, Sāhib Kaula, alias Sāhibrāma, am that blissful Śambhu (Lord Śiva the Absolute God) Who inscribed the figure of the whole universe on the wall of his own self, Who made it wonderful by means of various hues with a devote attention, and who finally performs the Taṇḍava dance after absorbing it into His own self.

Recollecting his previous position of a living being in a physical form, he spoke thus :

क: त्स्विद्देह: कस्य: देह् क्व देहो
देही देहेनैव बद्धो न बद्ध: ।
सोऽहं शम्भुर्विष्णुरर्को गणेशो
धाता शक्ति: सर्वशक्तिर्नमो मे ॥ 2 ॥
Kaḥ svid dehaḥ kasya dehaḥ kva deho
Dehı dehenaiva baddho na baddhaḥ
Soham Śambhur viṣṇur Arko gṇeśo
Dhātā Śaktiḥ sarvaśaktir namo me.

What is the body, where does it stand and to whom does it belong (When even a gross body also is the Lord Himself)? A soul, being bound by a body, is not really bound, (because there is no body but the Lord Himself appearing like that). As for me, I am myself Śambhu, Viṣṇu, Sungod, Ganeśa, Brahmā, Śakti and (even) Almighty God Himself. Let all prostrations be therefore to me."

Depicting his present outlook on the functions of his psycho-physical set up he spoke thus :

नाहं जाने नैव कुर्वे न वेच्छा-
म्याविर्भावं चेत्यचेत्यो न यामि ।
जाने कुर्वे स्वेच्छया स्वं परं स्वं
भावं भावं भावभावो नमो मे ॥ 3 ॥
Nāham jāne naiva kurve na vecchā-
Myāvirbhāvam cetya-cetyo na yāmi;
Jane kurve svecchayā svam param svam
Bhāvam bhāvam bhāva-bhāvo namo me.

I neither know nor do nor desire anything (other than me) nor do I appear as an object of any (senses which are themselves) objects. But, by virtue of my own independent will, I know and do my own self and know and do everything other than me as my own self. Prostrations to myself, the very existence of each existent entity.

Declaring the all-pervasive absolute consciousness as his real nature he uttered thus :

जाग्रत्यां वा स्वप्नजायां दशायां
सौषुप्त्यां वा या चिदाभाति तुर्या ।
तामप्येतां तिष्ठतेऽस्मा अतीत्य
सर्वस्मै मे सर्वभासे नमोऽस्तु ॥ 4 ॥

Jāgratyāṃ vā svapnajāyāṃ dasāyāṃ
Sauṣuptyāṃ vā yā cidābhāti turyā;
Tāmapyetāṃ tiṣṭhatesmā atītya
Sarvasmai me sarvabhāse namośtu.

I (as the transcendental reality) stand beyond even that pure consciousness of the fourth state (of revelation) which continues to shine in all the three states of waking, dreaming and sleeping. Prostrations to myself who is everything and through whose lustre everything shines.

Sāhib Kaula, being as yet a boy of eight years in age and not having undergone any hardening practices of ***Haṭha-yoga***, did not then possess a sufficiently strong nervous system capable to contain and bear the great flood of divinely powerful spiritual force being suddenly experienced by him in such suddenly aroused flash of self-realization. He felt his physical body as failing to bear it and consequently collapsing under its heavy pressure. His reaction to the apprehension of the so called death urged him to utter the fifth verse :

मृत्युर्मृत्युर्मृत्युभाजां न मृत्यु-
र्मृत्युज्ञानां नैव जाता यतस्ते ।
सोऽहं मृत्युं चाप्यमृत्युं व्यतीत्य
भासे भासा मृत्युमृत्युर्नमो मे ॥ 5 ॥

Mṛtyur mṛtyur mṛtyubhājām na mṛtyur
Mṛtyujñānaṃ naiva jātā yataste;
So'haṃ mṛtyuṃ cāpyamṛtyuṃ vyatītya
Bhāse bhāsā mṛtyu-mṛtyur namo me.

Death is death for only such people who believe to be undergoing it. It is not like that for them who realize its real essence, because in reality such people do not have any birth. As for me, I, transcending (the relative conceptions of) both death and immortality, am shining (eternally) by virtue of my own lustre. Prostrations to my self, the absorber of (even) the god of death.

Having uttered these five verses, the philosopher poet fainted, and coming back to his senses after a few hours, he uttered five more verses. The hymn created thus was named by him as *Śiva-jīva-daśakam,* the first five verses of it having been uttered in a fit of Śivahood and the rest of it after coming back to his own jīvahood. The eleventh verse contains hints towards the situations in which its both parts were uttered and the last one concludes it.

The next five verses have been uttered by the poet after having come back to his usual jīvahood. The verse uttered just at the moment of his coming back to his senses is the next one. Discussing the phenomenon of death through it he spoke thus :

यच्चित्तेनामृष्टमेतद्विभाति
यन्नो तस्याभानमेवेह भानम् ।
नातो यैः सञ्चेतितो जन्मभाव-
स्तेषां मृत्युः कः क्व दृष्टः श्रुतः क्व ॥ 6 ॥
Yaccittenāmṛṣṭam etad vibhāti
Yanno tasyābhānameveha bhānam ;
Nāto yaiḥ sañcetito janma-bhāvas
Teṣāṃ mṛtyuḥ kaḥ kva dṛṣṭaḥ śrutaḥ kva.

The way of knowing in this world is this : "A thing cognized by one's mind is (said to be) known and that not cognized is (said to be) not known. What can be accepted

as death for people who do not feel at all the reality of their birth ? Where has any death for such people been seen or heard ?

Note : A thing is being said to be existent only when it is known. He alone is beset with death who has undergone birth. A man possessing the correct knowledge of the basic nature of death and birth does not take them like that, but sees them as minor events in the process of the divine play of God. Therefore there is no death for him.

The next verse throws more light on the same topic of death :

चेत् संयोगो देहजो जन्मभाव-
स्तद्विच्छेदो मृत्युरित्येव वादः ।
तत् संयुक्ते वा वियुक्ते स्वबन्धौ
कस्तज्ज्ञानां हर्षशोकावतारः ॥ 7 ॥
Cet saṃyogo dehajo janma-bhāvas
Tad-vicchedo mṛtyur ityeva vādaḥ
Tat saṃyukte va viyukte svabandhau
Kastajjñānāṃ harṣa-śokāvatāraḥ

If however the theory regarding death is put forth like this : "Union of a soul with a body is birth and its separation from that is death", then the answer is : "What occasion for pleasure or pain can there be for wise persons possessing right knowledge on the visits and departures of their near and dear" ?

To refute all diversity and to establish absolute unity the philosopher poet uttered the eighth verse of the hymn :

कोऽहं कोऽहं यावदित्थं स्मरामि
सोऽहं सोऽहं तावदासं परोऽस्मि ।
स्यां चास्मृत्वा त्वामिमं मां च तं यं
स्वात्मा स्वात्मन्यस्मि शेषोऽहमेकः ॥ 8 ॥
Ko'haṃ ko'haṃ yāvad itthaṃ smarāmi
So'haṃ so'haṃ tāvadāsaṃ paro'smi;
Syāṃ cāsmṛtvā tvāṃimaṃ māṃ ca taṃ yaṃ
Svātmā svātmanyasmi śeṣo'hamekaḥ.

I was all along that very absolute reality even while I was thinking repeatedly (and inquisitively) as to "Who am I?" I am and can be only the supreme. Pushing all the relative conceptions like—you, this, I (in relative sense), he, who etc. into oblivion, I alone remain there myself in my own self (as the only undeniable entity).

Describing the apparent diversity as the manifestation of the playful will of the monistic self, he spoke out the ninth verse :

मत्तो भानं त्वन्मयं मन्मयं च
मत्तश्चैतत् साम्यमेवात्र भाति ।
भानं भानं चाप्यभानं च भानं
सोऽहं भामि प्राप्तभेदैकभाव: ।। 9 ।।
Matto bhānaṃ tvanmayaṃ manmayaṃ ca
Mattaś caitat sāmyamevātra bhāti;
Bhānaṃ bhānaṃ cāpyabhānaṃ ca bhānaṃ
So'haṃ bhāmi prāpta-bhedaika-bhāvaḥ.

The appearance of diversity in the form of yourself and myself is manifested by me. This presently appearing unity alone with respect to all phenomena is also manifested by me. *Prakāśa* (the psychic light of consciousness), is both, pure (*Nirvikalpa*) and mixed (*Savikalpa*) knowledge and I am thus shining unitarily in all diversity.

Another sense carried by the third line : Appearing of some thing is *Prakāśa* and its not appearing is also *Prakāśa* because that also shines in the lustre of consciousness.

Describing awareness as the essence of all consciousness, he uttered the tenth verse :

भानं चेत् स्यान्निर्विमर्शं न तत्तत्
चेत् तद्रूवं तर्हि भेदो न योऽत्र ।
भारूपायाहंविमर्शात्मकाय
जीवायास्मै मे नमो वा शिवाय ।। 10 ।।
Bhānaṃ cet syān nirvimarśaṃ na tat tat
Cet tadrūpaṃ tarhi bhedo na yo'tra

Bhārūpāyāhaṃ-vimarśātmakāya
Jīvāyāsmai me namo vā Śivāya.

If *Prakāśa* the psychic light of consciousness, were devoid of *Vimarśa* (awareness), it could not have been *Prakāśa*. When awareness is accepted as its essential nature, then the apparent phenomenal diversity is reduced to nothingness. Prostrations to me, having *Prakāśa* as my form and *Vimarśa* as my nature and appearing myself either as soul or as God !

The next verse hints at the circumstances in which the first five and the last five of the above verses of the poem were uttered by the philosopher poet. He says :

देहे याते मृत्युकल्पामवस्थां
पञ्चश्लोकी केनचित् संस्मृतेयम् ।
पञ्चश्लोकी प्राप्य संज्ञां कृतान्या
साहिब्कौलारामस्वस्थेन (संस्थेन) भूयः ॥ 11 ॥
Dehe yāte mṛtyukalpām avasthāṃ
Pañca-ślokī kenacit saṃsmṛteyam ;
Pañca-ślokī prāpya saṃjñāṃ kṛtānyā
Sāhib-kaulārāma-svasthena bhūyaḥ.

When the physical form of the poet had reached a state like that of death, the first five verses were aroused by some one (that is, by Lord Śiva) in his memory. The other five of them were composed by Sāhibrāma Kaula after coming back again to his normal health.

Note : Since the first five verses were inspired by Śiva and the last five were composed by the poet who was a worldly being, the poem was given the title as "Śiva-Jīva-Daśakam".

The concluding verse describes the philosophic and theological merit of the hymn like this :

पंक्तिश्लोकीं दैशिकेन्द्राद् विबुध्य
भूयो भूयः स्वात्मना संविमृश्य ।
जीवः प्राप्य स्वानुभूतिं विमुक्तो
लीयेतास्मिन् धाम्नि नित्ये परे स्वे ॥ 12 ॥

Pankti-ślokīṃ daiśikendrād vibudhya
Bhūyo bhūyaḥ savātmanā saṃvimṛśya ;
Jīvaḥ prāpya svānubhutiṃ vimukto
Līyetāsmin dhāmni nitye pare sve.

A (blessed) person, having learnt well the above ten *ślokas* from an experienced preceptor and having himself contemplated on them again and again, can finally become merged into his eternal and blissful lustre of pure (and potent) consciousness after having attained self-realization and consequent liberation (from bondage).

इति श्री महामाहेश्वराचार्यवर्य-
साहिब् कौलानन्दनाथविरचितं
शिवजीवदशकं
सम्पूर्णम्

Śivajīva daśaka, composed by Śrī Sāhib Kaula Ānandanātha, the great and exalted teacher of Śaivism, is thus completed.

Sri Harīshvara Nātha Tikku, a descendent of Sāhib Kaula, gave me a transcript of the poem in 1947. I got it published with Hindi translation in the magazine of some government college in Kashmir. The same is now being published presently with translation and introduction in English. The history of the composition, as hinted at in the 11th verse of the hymn, was learnt by me from Sri Harīshvara Nātha Tikku as well.

The self realization, inspired by some *yoginī* in the head and heart of the boy Sāhibrāma, is a typical example of *Prātibha jñāna* as discussed in detail in the 13th chapter of *Tantrāloka*.

The poet wrote several works on Śaivism. The most important one among them is Kalpavṛkṣa-prabandha, a philosophic work written in the style of poetic prose. It is lying still in manuscript form.

The only work from his pen, which has undergone regular publication, is *Devīnāmavilāsa*. It is a long poem

deseribing the mythological story lying behind the composition of *Bhavānī-sahasranāma-stuti*, a Tantric hymn dedicated to Mother goddess. His *Śiva-jīva-daśakam* appeared once in a college magazine. He wrote a philosophic work entitled *Saccidānanda-kandalī*. His *Atma-caritam* in Kashmiri language is also lying in its manuscript form. He aims at an integration of the theistic absolutism of the Śaivism of Kashmir with such theory of the Upaniṣadic Vedānta and, doing so, replaces the theory of *Vivarta* by that of *Svātantya*, while interpreting the latter philosophy. Many wonderful stories about his yogic and Tāntic powers are being still heared at Srinagar and some other places in the Valley. He is the most important Kaula author of Kashmir upholding the absolute theism of the Śaiva philosophy of the Trika system.

CHAPTER X

Saivism in Stotras

A tradition to express abstruse and mysterious philosophic principles through a sweet medium of poetry has been prevalent in India from the earliest ages of our civilization. It continued throughout our long history. Accordingly sage Durvāsas, the traditional originator of the doctrines of the profound philosophy of Śaiva monism, composed three such poems which are available even now and these are :

(*i*) *Paraśambhu-mahimnastava*

It is a long lyrical poem written in thirteen small sections. Twelve among them are devoted to the expression of different theological themes and the last one concludes the whole poem. All the first twelve sections have been composed in *Sragdharā* metre and the last one in several metres. The first section of the poem is an introductory chapter of the whole work. The next four (2nd to 5th) are devoted to the praise of the Absolute God as the master of four of His primary divine powers called *Parāśakti*, *Icchāśakti*, *Jñānaśakti* and *Kriyāśakti* and describe Him in His different aspects of the outward manifestation of these divine powers. The sixth section praises Him as the master of *Kuṇḍalinī Śakti*, the divine power that maintains His supreme Godhead, runs the universal cosmology, enables finite beings to conduct their functions of animation and leads them finally to self-realization through its upward and downward movements from the lowest centre of animation to the highest one situated inside

the spinal cord. The seventh section is devoted to the depiction of some profound and mysterious doctrines regarding the practice in the process of the direct realization of God through the esoteric system of ***Mātṛkā-yoga*** of ***Śāmbhava-upāya*** of Kashmir Śaivism. The eighth section of the poem hints towards the secrets of some six types of relations called ***anvayas*** with regard to the mysterious doctrines of Śaivism. The topic of the section does not, however become quite clear. The ninth section praises God through the mythological accounts of the exploites of Lord Śiva who is to be meditated upon in such aspect. The tenth section praises Him as the master of many ***vibhūtis*** or divine abilities to create wonders. The eleventh one hints towards the essence of some secret doctrines of internal mental worship termed as ***āntarāyoga.*** The twelfth one suggests some secrets of the symbolism with regard to such worship of Śiva through which an aspirant attains the position of that infinite and pure consciousness which can be compared to the motionlessness of a huge ocean.

This lengthy stotra of one hundred and fortyone verses does not bear any commentary and is therefore sufficiently difficult to understand. Besides, the language of the hymn is very old type of Sanskrit using occasionally such words as are not generally prevalent in classical Sanskrit and become intelligible only with the help of ancient Sanskrit dictionaries and grammatical works. The philosophic terminology used in the hymn appears to be so ancient that it does not become sufficiently clear in the light of the later development of Indian philosophy after the spread of Buddhism. It is, in fact, this hymn which was originally praised as "Mahimno ***nāparā*** stutiḥ". Such praise was later applied by people to the stotra of the same name composed by Puṣpadanta which is popularly known throughout India, while the original hymn under such name is very little known even to scholars, not to say of common people. That hymn is not generally known even to Sanskritists.

2. Another poetic work by sage Durvāsas is such hymn to the Mother Goddess and is named as ***Tripurāmahima stotra***. It bears a Sanskrit commentary by an ancient Tantric practitioner named Nityānanda-nātha. It has appeared several

times in print with translations in Tamil and Hindi as well. It is kown to most of the adept Śākta aspirants at many places and is sung in the praise of Goddess Tripurā, the divine power of the Almighty God, governing the three domains of unity, diversity and diverse-unity termed in Śaivism as the planes of *Śakti*, *Māyā* and *Vidyā* respectively. It has been composed in *Śardūla-vikrīḍita* metre upto the fortieth stanza and in different metres from the forty-first to the fifty-sixth. A few stanzas are common between it and the above mentioned hymn to Para-Śambhu. The hymn to the Goddess throws light on Her worship with the help of three *bijamantras* named *Vāgbhava*, *Kāmarāja* and *Śakti-bija*. It alludes to many more doctrines of Śaiva Śākta sādhanā as well as to some very important philosophic principles of Śaiva monism.

3. The third hymn by sage Durvāsas is his *Lalitā-stava-ratna*. It describes the divine power of the Almighty God in its symbolic form of *Śrīcakra*, the Tantric diagram representing the whole existence in the form of intertwisted tringles and circles. The philosopher poet describes Śricakra symbolically as the mountain castle of gods, the Sumeru-parvata, surrounded by several trenches and protection walls with many planes lying in-between and being governed by different deities of higher and lower status. The whole philosophy and theology, lying behind the worship of *Śrīyantra*, has been expressed in the hymn through the medium of beautiful and charming poetry in about two hundred verses in *Ārya* metre. Towards the close of the hymn the sage philosopher turns into a great poet capable to create a highly charming and effective poetry, shedding beauty on all sides through both its sound and sense. That portion of the poem is devoted to the wonderfully beautiful description of Almighty God as Lord *Kāmeśvara* and His divine power of absolute Godhead seated in His lap as *Lalitā*, the personification of all tenderness and beauty; both seated on a beautifully decorated divine couch. Five super-gods, *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu*, *Rudra*, *Īśvara* and *Sadāśiva* join together to take the form of such couch laid inside a palace made of *cintāmani* jewels built within a garden of *kadamba* trees on a divine island of precious stones surrounded by a sea of nectar. The hymn is a

remarkable specimen of the highly developed aesthetics in Indian theology.

The descriptions of many other deities, wielding their authority at different planes of the universal phenomena represented by *Śrīyantra*, are in no way less in their aesthetic beauty, though brief in form. For instance, the descriptions of the male deities of six seasons, accompanied by their female counterparts, *Viṣṇu* the governor of three worlds, *Tārā*, the deity incharge of carrying aspirants to the other bank of the ocean of the phenomenal existence, playing with her assistants with water sprayers in a beautiful boat sailing in a pond of nectar, and so on, are immensely beautiful, both in their sense and sound. Frequent use of figures of speech adds to the charm of the poem. *Lalitā-stavaratna* of the sage poet is his best work when seen from the view-point of poetic beauty.

The hymn gives a fully detailed and highly comprehensive picture of the whole outline of the divine hierarchy of Tantric and Vedic deities of different status, wielding their authority at different levels of phenomenal existence, and presents it through the delightful medium of beautiful poetry. The theological principles lying behind the worship of *Śrīyantra* become automatically clear through it without any taxing exertion of brain.

Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa

This philosopher poet belongs to the early period of the age of the evoluation of Kashmir Śaivism because he has been referred by Abhinavagupta as a *pūrvaguruḥ*. His work *Stava-cintāmaṇi*, was commented upon by Rāmakaṇṭha who lived in the middle of the 9th century and whom he must have preceded. Ksemarāja says at the close of his commentary on *Stava-cintāmaṇi* that the author was the teacher of the teacher of Abhinavagupta and he can therefore be placed in the ninth century. His poetical work, *Stavacintāmaṇi*, is a philosophic eulogy offered to Lord Śiva, the absolute God. It throws light on several philosophic principles of Śaiva monism, especially on the theistic and monistic absolutism which was later developed philosophically by Somānanda, Utpaladeva and

Abhinavagupta. His verses from *Stava-cintāmaṇi* have been quoted as authority by later authors who succeeded him, especially by Abhinavagupta.

The poem bears a detailed commentary by Kṣemarāja which throws light on the philosophic principles and doctrines expressed in it. The earlier commentary written on it by Rāmakaṇṭha has been lost. He cannot be placed later than the earlier part of the ninth century A.D. and he must have been some ***Maṭhikāguru*** of the school of Tyambaka which was transplanted in Kashmir by Sangamāditya in the eighth century A.D.

Baṭṭa-Pradyumna

He was a cousin and a disciple of Baṭṭa Kallaṭa and both of them may have been of equal age. He can thus have belonged to the later part of the ninth century A.D. He was much more devoted to the Śakti aspect of the Absolute than to His Śiva aspect. Therefore his philosophic poem named *Tatvagarbha-stotra* eulogises Mother Goddess Śakti. Śiva has been described in the hymn as a special state of Śakti and so have been Sadāśiva, Īśvara etc. The hymn is not available at present. It has been lost but some of its verses have been preserved in quotations given by several later authors of Śaivism. Śomānada criticises some statements of Bhaṭṭa Pradyumna without mentioning either his name or that of his ***Stotras***. Utpaladeva, while commenting on *Śivadṛṣṭi*, names both the work, *Tattvagarbha* and its author, Bhaṭṭa Pradyumna and quotes verses from the work. Rāmakaṇṭha also quotes some of them in his *Spanda-vivṛti*. The quotations prove him to have been a good poet. Though eulogising Śakti and giving greater importance to Her, than to Śiva, he was doubtlessly a Śaiva teacher because Utpaladeva counts him as a *Svayūthya*, that is, an author of his own line, the line of the Śaivas. Besides, Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara mentions him as such a disciple of Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa who, having learnt the principle of Spanda from him, transmitted it to some Prajñārjuna, the next teacher in line. The *Tattvagarbha* describeds the mode of the creation of ***tattvans*** right from Śiva to earth by Śakti, the Godhead of God.

He describes such tattvas as outward manifestations of different aspects of Śakti, the absolute Godhead of God.

Utpaladeva

The most important author and the greatest of philosopher poets in the field of Kashmir Śaivism was Utpaladeva, the author of *Śivastotrāvalī*. The work is a collection of wonderfully beautiful twenty hymns eulogising Śiva, the only absolute reality, having divine potency and spontaneous tendency towards playful activities of Godhead as its basic and essential nature. It expresses through suggestion many important philosophic principles of Śaiva monism. The philosophy discussed through logical arguments in *Īsvarapratyabhijñā* is reflected beautifully in it and shines here through a charming lustre without taxing one's head. Abhinavagupta quotes its verses occasionally, just to clarify his philosophic ideas expressed through subtle logic. *Īśvarapratyabhijñā* represents the head of Utpaladeva and *Śivastorāvalī* respresents his heart. He expresses in *Īśvarapratyabhijñā* the truth that he arrives at through the calculations of his mind and his *Śivastotrāvalī* expresses it as he feels and relishes it by means of direct experience attained through his heart and such expression of the truth is very often far more effective and sweet.

Utpaladeva wrote just a few hymns like *Saṅgrahastotra*, *Bhakti-stotra* and *Jayastotra*. In addition to them, he uttered occasionally single verses in certain emotional states which were written down and stored together. Such single verses were afterwards collected and classified by his two disciples Rāmakaṇṭha and Ādityarāja. These were then taken up for further study by Viśvāvarta, the father of poet Maṅkha, who arranged them well, classified them and presented them in the form of twenty different hymns with headings given to them by him on the basis of his own imagination. Ksemarāja wrote a good commentary on them. It was published by Chaukhambā Sanskrit Series, Vārāṇasī in 1902. Swāmī Lakṣmaṇ Jee translated them into Hindi in the Gītāpress style and the work was once again published along with such

translation by the same agency. *Śivastotrāvali* is even now sung by devotees of Śiva in many villages and all towns in Kashmir and that proves its high popularity among the pandits of that land. It reveals very frequently the intense devotion that Utpaladeva had for Lord Śiva. Devotion for the Lord has been given the highest position in the theology of Kashmir Śaivism, as described by Utpaladeva in his *Śivastotrāvali* (I-18). As a means of the highest salvation, devotion has been given a position higher even to that of yoga and pure knowledge (xvi-16), not to say of ritual worship, tapas, austere discipline, vows etc. Devotion at the stage of its perfection has been declared in it as the highest aspect of knowledge and the super-most stage in Yoga (XVI-19). Devotion is "Jñānasya paramā bhūmir yogasya paramā daśā' (S. st IX-9). The highest type of devotion, as described by Utpaladeva in his Śivastotrāvalī, is a practice in such an actual experience of one's absolute unity with God in which his individual personality becomes expanded and takes the form of universal consciousness enjoying limitless divine powers of Godhead (VIII-7). It is termed in Śaivism as *Samāveśabhakti* which is far higher than the ninefold devotion of Vaiṣṇavas or even the highest *prapatti* of Vallabha's school. The practices of all objective services to the Divine fall away like dry leaves of a tree when such *Samāveśabhakti* wakes up in one's heart. Such devotion yields *Jīvanmukti*, liberation while one lives in a mortal form, as its immediate result as announced by Utpaladeva in his Śivastotrāvali (I-22). Some of its verses (I-11, XVI-19) give to such devotion a higher place than even to that of final liberation and the highest spiritual knowledge, both of which have been taken as tasteless when compared to such hight of the blissfulness of *Samāveśabhakti*. Śivastotrāvalī is, in short, a unique and a wonderful work aiming at a perfect integration of the highest aspect of philosophical knowledge and the super-most practical realization of the exact truth, brought about by means of an intense type of devotion aided by practical yoga and theoretical knowledge of the absolute and theistic monism.

Siddhanātha

Pṛthvīdhara, a practitioner of Tāntric theology, praises his preceptor under two names viz, Siddhanātha, and Śambhunātha in his *Bhuvaneśvarīstotra.*

Śrī Siddhanātha Karuṇākara Śambhunātha,
Śrī Śambhernāthe Karnṇākara Siddhanātha. (Bh. St. 40)

This Prithvidhara may have been some one different from that master of Śṛṅgeri-maṭha who succeeded Śankarāchārya in A.D. 814. He says further about him like this :

Śrī-Siddhanātha iti Ko'pi yuge caturthe
Prāvirbabhūva Karuṇā-varuṇālayesmin ;
Śrī-Śambhuritya-bhidhayā sa mayi prasannaṃ
Cetaścakāra sakalāgama-cakra-varti. (Ibid-37)

He means to say that "Śrī Śambhunatha, being the greatest master of all *Āgama-śāstras*, appeared under such name at some place known as Varaṇā in the fourth aeon and, being known as the master of siddhas, he became kindly gracious towards the author".

Being a master of all Āgamas and not having been praised as a master of Vedanta philosophy, he may have been an author different from the disciple of Śankarācharya and may have belonged to the tenth century A.D.

Siddhanātha is well known as the author of a wonderfully beautiful hymn named *Kramastotra,* sung in praise of the Divine Mother Kālī, the absolute Godhead of God. The hymn eulogises Kālī in accordance with the theological doctrines of Krama system started by Śivānanda-nātha. Śambhunātha was the presiding teacher of the Ardha-tryambaka school of Śaiva monism established at *Jālandharā-pīṭha,* the shrine of *Vajreśvarī.* situated at Kaṅgṛā. He was that greatest teacher of Abhinavagupta who removed all of his doubts and suspicions with regard to certain mysterious problems of the theology and philosophy of the Trika and Kula systems. Being a *siddha* of very high merit, he may have become known among people as Siddhanātha as well.

Prithvidhara says that Siddhanātha was born in the region of River Varaṇā, a small river in South India. Kashmir tradition presents five facts about him. Firstly, he came from South India ; secondly, he was a disciple of Sumatinātha, belonging to South India ; thirdly, he attained fame and prominence at Jālandhara Pīṭha, fourthly, he was a great siddha and fifthly, he was known under many names. Abhinavagupta says, as mentioned above, that he was a perfect master of both Trika and Kula systems. Such accounts about him indicate that Siddhanātha was the same Śambhunātha who, having been a disciple of Sumatinatha, and having come to the North, became the master of Jālandharapīṭha. It was he who discpelled all doubts of Abhinavagupta with regard to all mysterious practices of Śaiva monism. This Śambhunātha, alias Siddhanātha, wrote *Kramastotra* eulogising Kālī diety of the Krama system in all her aspects and especially in her symbolic forms of twelve Kālīs. The poem is lost now but Jayaratha has preserved fourteen verses of it in quotations while discussing the system of Kālī-worship as a special type of Śāktopāya, in his commentary on *Tantrāloka* of Abhinavagupta. Such available verses prove him to be a philosopher poet of high merit. Abhinavagupta had written a commentary named *Kramakelī* on *Kramastotra*, but it has been lost. Only a few pages from it have been preserved as a long quotation in the commentary of Jayaratha on *Tantrāloka* chapter IV.

Śrīvatsa (*Kālidāsa*)

Cidgagana-candrikā is a long poem in four chapters. It is a highly wonderful poetic work that throws light on many esoteric and mysterious doctrines and practices of Tantric yoga of monistic Śaivism. It also describes the above mentioned twelve Kālīs of the Krama system. The whole poem is composed in *Rathodhatā* metre. It was published at Calcutta in 1937. Its editing is highly defective, containing many scribal mistakes and dubious readings. The defect in its editing is the highest towards the close of the

fourth hymn from the verse No. 126.* Two lines of the verse No. 126 concerned appear to have been lost and the editor, without sufficient pondering on the sense carried by the verses that follow, connects two lines of each previous verse with the two lines of the following one and that creates much confusion in understanding the content of such verses. Its second edition bears a detailed Sanskrit commentary, but unfortunately, the commentator happened to be a logician not knowing the theological doctrines of such Tantric system and, on such account, has not at all thrown any light on the special contents of the hymns. It is a wonder that he, though being a great Sankrit scholar of Vārāṇasī, has not been able to find out the above mentioned great defect in its editing towards the close of the fourth hymn. The poet takes himself as *dāsa* or servant of Kālī but says in clear terms that the poem was composed by Śrīvatsva (C.C. IV-134) which was his real and proper name. But the editor of the first edition did not or could not understand such fact and announced that the author of the poem was some Kālidāsa. All the scholars have since taken the poem as written by Kālidāsa. It is a wonder that the editor of the second edition also committed such mistake though the poet has said clearly as follows :"

"*Śrīvatso vidadhe sa tu*"

The mistake may have orginally been committed by some scribe while copying the colophone. It also is possible that the poet may have himself mentioned his own self as a dasa of Kālī in the colophone. Any way, his proper name is Śrīvasta without any doubt. *Cidgaganacandrikā* is both, a poem and a work on Śākta theology of monistic Śaivism. As a poem it is very beautiful, charming and effective and as a work on theology it is of immense value. But there are three drawbacks in its study. The first one is the defective editing as mentioned above. The second one is the absence of proper

* Its number in the printed text is 305, as numbering is not given to verses chapter-wise. It starts with the first chapter and culminates at the close of the fourth chapter.

corrections of scribal mistakes at many places. The third drawback is the want of a good commentary by a scholar well versed in Śākta theology and Śaiva philosophy.

Abhinavagupta

Some of the philosophic hymns of Abhinavagupta have been lost but many of them are still available and these are listed below :

1. His *Bhairavastotra* is very much popular with the devotees of Śiva in Kashmir. It suggests several very important principles of Kashmir Śaivism.

2. *Anubhava-nivedanastotra* depicts his personal experience of the aspects of trancendence and immanence of the absolute reality, the real self of each and every being.

3. Kramastotra on Kālīnaya etc.

4. Only two sweet verses of his very beautiful *Śiva-Śaktya-vinā-bhāvastotra* are now available in a quotation in his Gitārtha-sangraha.

Lalla

She has been referred to by later writers as Lalleśvarī. She was a female saint devoted to Lord Śiva and is the first poet who composed poetry in Kashmiri language. She spoke either in blank verse or in poetic prose. Her literary art is known as *Vāk-s* or sayings. She was a Śivayoginī who composed gnomic poetry as well. Some of her sayings teach worldly wisdome, some describe her practical *sādhanā* and some express the philosophic truth experienced by her. The Yoga she practised and preached was mostly *dhvaniyoga* known as *ajapā-yoga*. Her sayings are popularly sung in Kashmir by both Hindus and Muslims. She appeared in the 14th century when Kashmir had gone under Muslim rule. Her songs sung in pangs of separation from Śiva are highly effective.

Bhāskarakaṇṭha, an eighteenth century writer on Śaivism, translated seventy of her sayings into Sankrit verses. George Grierson was the first research scholar who collected and

published most of her sayings in Roman characters. Many editions of them appeared in print since then in Persian, Devanāgarī, Roman and new Kashmiri scripts and several research works on Lalla also came out during the past few decades.

Followers of Lalla

She was first followed in her art by her ardent disciple, Sheikh Nūruddīn, alias Nund Ṛṣi, whose poetry is a mixture of Śaivism and Sufism and is sung popularly in Kashmir. Many saints appeared in his line which is still continuing in the Valley. Both Hindu and Muslim aspirants of both sexes join such order of hermits. Outwardly they appear to be half mad, but in reality they are in senses. Many a time they use their spiritual powers to give relief to people involved in wordly calamities.

Mirzakāk, a saint of the late eighteenth century, also composed such sayings. He also got inspiration from Lalla who is said to have appeared before him in a forest near Kokarnāg. He practised ajapāyoga, attained self-realization and turned into a poet who composed poetic prose and religio-philosophic verse in Kashmiri and wrote it down in Persian script. Much of his literature has been lost, but a sufficient quantity of it is still available in manuscript form. He was born at Achan (or Atshan) in Pulwama and spent much of his age at Hāgalgund where he shed off his mortal form.

Other Writers

Tikarām of Habbakadal was another such saint who composed *Vāks* in Kashmiri. Raghunāth, a hermit in his line, published them along with a Hindi translation by the writer of these pages. The collection includes some Vāks from the pen of his disciple Bhona-kāk who was from Pulwāma. The Vāks of Mirzakāk and Tikarām adhere to the philosophic principles of Kashmir Śaivism. Such Vāks were composed by a female saint of Lar area as well. She is known well in Kashmir as Ropa-Bhawāni.

CHAPTER XI

Neo-Saivism of Acharya Amrtavagbhava

A great person appeared at Allahabad in a Mahārāshtrian Brahmana family of traditional Sanskrit scholars of Vārāṇasī in 1903 A.D. He was in fact a person who was born great. In 1919, when he was a student of oriental studies in Sanskrit, he had to face a big problem in his academic career on account of which he took refuge in the feet of Tripurā, his favourite Tantric deity, for proper guidance and help. As a result of his faithful and ardent approach to her, he had a vision of sage Durvāsas who blessed him with his grace and imparted to him the method of the highest type of *Śāmbhavaupāya*. As a result of his faithful practice in Śāmbhavayoga, he not only solved the concerned problem before him, but, by and by, had a clear and direct realization of the fundamental philosophic principles of Kashmir Śaivism. After a few years he composed '*Parama-śiva-stotra*' while working as a research scholar in the Sarasvatī Bhavan Library of the then Queen's College of Sanskrit. Till then he was known as Vaidyanātha Shastri Varkale, but had started to use occasionally his pen-name, Amṛta-Vāgbhava. In 1928 he left his home and hearth and started roaming about as a hermit and practising regularly the Śāmbhava Yoga taught by sage Durvāsas. As another result of the practice of such yoga, he had many visions of several deities and divine phenomena, especially at sacred places of such deities. Besides, he attained direct experiences of the subtler nature of

the self as well, while roaming about round sacred places of importance. During such period of his life, he composed several works on the philosophy and theology of Śaiva monism as well as on religion, politics and literature under his pen-name, Amṛta-vāghbhava. Most of his important works are now available in print but some of them are still lying as manuscripts. His works on *Śaiva monism* present certain new ideas and have been composed in accordance with a new approach to the problems of spiritual philosophy and theology, though he does not diverge from the fundamental principles of the theory of philosophy and the doctrines of the practice of theology of Śaiva monism, discovered and developed by its ancient authors. The word, Neo-Śaivism, is coined to denote his such philosophy which is partly ancient and partly new, just like the neo-Vedānta of Vivekānanda. The main points of novelty which are found in it are discussed below :

1. The very philosophic approach of Āchārya Amṛtavāgbhava to human life and its aims is quite new. All our ancient philosophers were mainly concerned only with the spiritual problems of life and showed least interest in its social, economic or political problems. At the most, they showed a little interest in the matters of religion because it helped in the spiritual uplift of people. But Āchārya Amṛtavāgbhava was keenly interested in politics. It was his strong belief that spritual uplift of people could not be worked out successfully before their pinching worldly problems were not solved satisfactorily. He felt further that a proper socio-economic set up, capable to relieve people from worldly problems, could not be established in a society without establishing a good, effective and just administrative machinery which, in his opinion, was dependent on a right political system. Therefore he used to say and write that we should, first of all, achieve perfect political independence and then establish an efficient, effective and just administrative system through right politics in our country and after that we should propagate religio-philosophic ways of spiritual progress. He wanted political workers to follow an ideal of becoming servants of the nation and not its masters. He did

not like the ways of our political workers, especially after the passing away of Sirdar Patel and very often predicted the bad results to be brought about by their wrong and dishonest policies.

Perfect spiritual independence was considered by him as the final goal of life and the relative liberation from all kinds of dependence, caused by worldly problems, was taken by him as an essential aid and means for the attainment of perfect liberation of spiritual character. He composed two very important works in his youthful age and these are *Ātmavilāsa* and *Rāṣṭrāloka*, one discussing the pure spiritual philosophy and the other throwing a brilliant light on his political philosophy. His time to time criticism on the working of Indian democracy and also on the character of its masters, "hiding the darkness of their bodies and minds under their white clothes," used to come out in the issues of *Śrisvādhyāya*, a Hindi journal, in beautiful satirical verses in Sanskrit. Some of such verses were afterwards included by him in his *Amṛta-sūkti-pañcāśikā*, published in 1973. Such inclusion of socio-political studies in Indian philosophy is the most important element of his thought on account of which it is being named as neo-Śaivism. He contributed many other new ideas regarding studies in the spiritual philosophy of Śaivism and these are being noted below :

2. The absolute God, according to Śaivism, is both Śiva and Śakti in His two aspects of transcendence and immanence. In fact, His own nature of Godhead is termed as Śakti, by virtue of which He is God. Therefore the devotees of His such divine nature call Him as Parā Ambā, the supreme Mother Goddess. All charms of Godhead lie in such aspect of God in which He is called *Tripura-sundari*, the beauty that shines at the three planes of unity, diversity and diverse unity ; and *Lalitā*, all tenderness shining in the whole existence. Other names given to Him in such aspect are *Kameśvari*, *Rājarājeśvari*, *Parameśvari* etc. If God Śiva were devoid of such Śaktihood, he would not have any charm for us and would have been a vacuum like entity like the pure space. His Śaktihood is thus His aspect of the highest importance. But the word 'Śakti,' in its grammatical aspect, denotes an entity depen-

dent on some other entity that holds it or possesses it as being *Śaktimān*. Its similarity with dependent ideas like *kṛti, ukti, prīti, mati* etc., comes into one's head on hearing it. The word Śiva, on the other hand, does not denote clearly anything like power or powerfulness which is the most important essence of the absolute reality. In order to avoid such one-sided denotation of the *Para-tattva*, Āchāryaji coined the word *Śāka* from the root√Śak with the suffix ghañ and used such term for the absolute and basic reality, the only metaphysical truth accepted in Śaiva monism. The term can be explained thus : "Śakanam=Śākaḥ", meaning one compact whole of all divine powers. The word Śakti, being faminine in gender, creates at once an idea of a female deity in the mind of a listener, but such a thing does not happen on hearing the word 'Śākaḥ' which is masculine in gender. The term *Śāka* has been used profusely by the Āchārya in his *Siddhamahārahasyam* and has been explained there at length in accordance with many aspects of the Godhead of the Absolute. The term suggests that theism is the essential nature of the Absolute in accordance with the ontology of Śaiva monism.

3. Another new and very important contribution to the method of the expression of the fundamental character of the Absolute by the Āchārya is his method of philosophical explanation of some mutually controversial phenomena with the help of the two principles of absolutism and relativity. Such a way of explanation of the truth dispels certain contradictions in the statements of divine scriptures as well. The Āchārya asserts that the Absolute is being thought over, understood and expressed through two view points of absolutism and relaitivity. Accordingly the manifestations of relative *sattā* (existence) and *asattā* (non-existence) have their roots in "*mahāsattā*" (the absolute existence) of the Absolute and are manifested by the Absolute through Its divine playfulness as two relative ideas spoken of in scriptures. Similar is the case with the relative ideas of the pairs of (1) *Vidyā*, (correct knowledge) and *avidyā* (incorrect knowledge), (2) svātantrya (independence) and *pāratantrya* (dependence), (3) *nairmalya* (purity) and mala (impurity), (4) *Kartṛtva* (active-

ness) and *akartṛtva* (inactiveness) etc., all of which are respectively two types of ideas regarding the phenomenal and relative manifestations of (1) Mahāvidyā, (absolute knowledge), (2) *pūrṇa svātantrya* (perfect self-dependence), (3) *pūrṇa nairmalya* (perfect purity), (4) *pūrṇa-kartṛtva* (perfect activeness) etc., of the absolute reality understood and talked about in relative terms at the plane of relativity. All this has been explained as the *vilāsa* of the Absolute God. Such method of explaining some ideas about spiritual philosophy and some scriptural expressions about them has been developed by Āchārya ji in his *Ātmavilāsa* and has been resorted to in nearly all of its chapters.

4. There is some confusion in the principle of *buddhi* as taught in several schools of Indian philosophy. On one hand, it is called *Mahattattva* and is accepted as the source of all the universal cosmic elements right from ego (ahaṅkāra) to solid existence (pṛthvī), and, on the other hand, it is taken as the understanding sense of individual beings. It has thus two mutually contradictory characters of being a universal entity, on one hand, and an individual capacity, on the other hand. Āchārya ji, following the traditional teachings of his ancestors, and relying on the authenticity of his personal yogic experiences, takes *Mahattattva* and *Buddhitattva* as two different elements and, accommodating *Citta* (of Vedānta) and manas (of Sāmkhya) respectively in them, removes such contradiction. *Mahat*, according to him, is that insencient splendour which grows out of *prakṛti* and, bearing the universal reflection of the whole phenomenal existence, undergoes outward evolution assuming the forms of all the twenty-two other instrumental and objective elements, worked out in the Sāmkhya philosophy. He takes Buddhi as the understanding capacity of an individual being. Mahat, in accordance with his views, grows into two elements known as *Ahaṅkāra* (ego) and Buddhi (understanding), each of which appears in two aspects, one facing *Puruṣa* and the other looking towards objective phenomena. Ahaṁkāra, in its objective role is known as citta and Buddhi in such role is called manas. In short, these four elements are basically only two, ego and mind. Such an idea dispels the contradiction without in-

creasing the number of such tattvas.

5. As for the four states of animation, Acharya ji explains their character in quite a new way. He says in his *Sidhamahā-rahasya* :

Jāgrat, the waking state, is the state of *vismṛti* or total self oblivion ; *svapna*, the dreaming state, is that of *smṛti* or recollection, *suṣupti*, the sleeping state, is that of *anubhūti*, that is, the state that follows pure existence (anu+bhūti) and *Turyā*, the state of self-revelation, is that of *bhūti* or pure existence. The self shines through its own psychic lustre of pure consciousness in Turyā. That is followed by suṣupti in which a being experiences his pure individual consciousness freed from all misery. In dreaming state a person feels his capacities to know and to do as unfettered by the laws of causation and restriction as a result of a faint awakening of the past impression of his basic divine nature and hence it has been defined as *smṛti*. In the waking state a person can not at all revive his impression of divinity or purity but takes the unconscious physical form as his self. That is a new idea contributed by him to Śaivism.

6. Having been a student of Sanskrit grammar for a few years of his youthful age, he worked out a fresh philosophication of certain elements of Sanskrit grammar, not touched in such context by Bhartṛhari or Nāgeśa. Such elements are *Dhātu Prātipadika*, *Uttama-puruṣa* etc., discussed philosophically by him in his *Siddha-mahā-rahasya.*

7. With respect to different principles of cosmogony established in different schools of Indian philosophy, he says that the theories of *ārmbha*, *pariṇāmā* and *vivarta* are correct at the lower levels of creation and are meant for such aspirants who are yet children in higher spiritual philosophy. *Svātantrya-Siddhānta*, the principle of the free sportive will of God, is, in his view, the cent per cent correct principle of cosmogony and is meant for the aspirants of higher merit. Other schools of thought say that it is only their own principle which is correct, while all other principles are incorrect. The Āchārya takes much broader view on such points. Besides, he crushes down the arguments of Advaita Vedāntins put forth by them in favour of their theory of *vivarta* with the

help of subtle logical arguments in almost all the chapters of his *Ātma-vilāsa.* The vivarta theory had already been criticised by ancient authors of Śaivism, but his Neo-Śaivism defeats it in a fresh way of arguments so that it can be taken as a fresh contribution.

8. Vedānta takes the Absolute truth as an indivisible and unitary self-expression of *sattā* (existence), *cittā* (consciousness) and *anandatā* (blissfulness). But the Āchārya expresses it as their that root cause out which all these three aspects of the Absolute reality become manifest. He uses the term ***saccidānanda-kanda*** and not *Saccidānanda-svarūpa* for the absolute.

9. He develops the new principle of *vilāsa* of the absolute which is the root cause of all phenomenal existence and its all functions. Though such principle of absolute Godhead had already been discovered by ancient authors of Śaiva monism, yet the word *vilāsa* used for the activity of Godhead, is a new thing contributed by the Āchārya ji.

These are the main new philosophic ideas of Āchārya Amṛtavāgbhava. Many more such ideas of minor importance can be found in his works and therefore his philosophy is being termed as Neo-Śaivism.

He composed three philosophic hymns eulogizing Lord Śiva and Mother Śakti which throw light on many philosophic principles of Śaiva monism, besides writing three remarkable works dealing directly with his Neo-Śaivism. An introduction to such books is given here chronologically :

1. *Paramaśivastotra*

It is his first important work. It was written by him in 1926 while he was living yet in his own home at Vārāṇasī and was working in the Sarasvati-Bhavana Library of the then Queen's Sanskrit College under the principalship of M.M. Gopināth Kavirāj. It is a hymn eulogising Śiva, the Almighty God, appearing in the forms of thirty-six *tattvas* of Śaivism. It is simultaneously a prayer and a philosophic work throwing light on the nature and character of the thirty-six *tattvas*. It has been published recently with a

detailed Hindi commentary by the author of the work in hand. Most of his published works bear the translations or commentaries by the same commentator though just a few have been commented upon by other disciples of the Āchārya as well.

2. *Mandākrāntāstotra*

It is the most beautiful one among all the stotras composed by Āchārya ji and has been written in *Mandākrāntā* metre. It was written by him in 1929 when, having returned from his pilgrimage to *Śāradā* temple in the northern mountain ranges of Kashmir valley, he stayed for some time at Baramula in the shrine of *Śailaputrī*. There he had the vision of a divive phenomenon which resulted in the realization of the universal aspect of his self and aroused in him a spontaneous flow of sweet and charming poetry in Sanskrit. Consequently he started writing the verses of an eulogy to Mother Goddess. Such verses used to flow out of his speech without any effort on his part and in just a few days he wrote about seventy of them. He intended to write about twenty verses more just to offer to the Mother his worship in the order of sixteen types of service, known as *ṣoḍaśopacāra-pūjā*, and to conclude the hymn after the description of the last item. But Devakāk, a friend of the author, came from *Sādhu-mālyun* and persuaded him to visit that place. He agreed to it and went there. The natural flow of poetry stopped then and there and did not come again for dacades. It was in 1972 when the writer of the work in hand suggested to him to conclude the hymn where the flow of poetry had stopped and expressed his interest in translating it into Hindi. He agreed and wrote the concluding verses and the translator translated it very soon. Shri Ravi Sharmā Trivedi edited it and published it in 1979 at Delhi. It was published again with an enlarged commentary by Sh. Ramānand Shāstri in 1980 at Jodhpur.

The poem is full of poetic beauty enriched by emotional prayers, figures of speech, proper selection of suitable words, expressions of intense devotion and highly developed poetic

imagination. It expresses philosophic principles of Śaiva monism through a sweet medium of effective poetry and throws sufficient light on the secrets of the worship of the Mother Goddess conducted with the help of three *bījamantras* of Tantric Śaivism. Memory of *Kumāra-sambhava* of Kālidāsa and *Saundarya-laharī* of Śaṅkarāchārya is roused in a reader while he goes through the verses devoted to the description of the beauty of the limbs of the Mother Goddess. As said in *Mālinī-vijayottara*, a yogin, having been blessed by God through the bestowal of His forceful grace, turns into a poet capable to compose beautiful poetry. Such a thing happened with Āchārya ji at the shrine of *Śaila-putrī* while composing Mandā-krāntā-stotra. The poem is interesting from the viewpoints of poetry, religion, theology and philosophy and proves the Āchārya to be a great poet.

3. *Ātma-vilāsa with Sundarī*

It is a work on pure philosophy and is written in *Kārikā* style in Sanskrit. It was composed by the Āchārya while staying in Kashmir in a village named Hwāl in Pulwāmā district in the year 1930 for the sake of a local pandit named Kaṇṭha Bhaṭṭa. It throws light on several basic philosophical principles of Kashmir Śaivism like theism, absolutism, monism etc., and develops the newly named principle of *vilāsa* or sportive luxuriousness of the absolute reality. It deals with the metaphysical problems of monism with the help of the principles of absolutism and relativity resorted to in discussions on it and expressions of it. Throughout all the chapters of this work, the author criticises the Vedāntic theory of *Vivarta* as unsatisfactory and establishes the principle of *Vilāsa* or sportive Godhead. It contains many such new philosophic ideas for which the term Neo-Śaivism is being coined to denote the philosophy of Āchārya Amṛtavāgbhava.

The author delivered a few lectures in Hindi to his Panjabi disciples in order to explain to them the Sanskrit *Kārikās* of *Ātmavilāsa* in 1933 and one of them, named Labhurāma of Nālāgaṛh, noted down the lectures and such an explanation of Ātmavilāsa was named as *Sundarī*. *Ātmavilāsa*

with such *Sundarī* was published at Amritsar in the year 1936. Shrī Peetha, a research society established by the Āchārya in 1972, brought out its second edition with some foot notes and a detailed glossary of technical terms in 1982.

4. *Mahānubhava Śakti Stotra*

It is a brief hymn which depicts the essence of the five primary divine powers of God and eulogises them as symbolic divine mother goddesses. It can be thus classed with both religion and philosophy. It was composed in 1935 and was published with a Sanskrit commentary and a Hindi translation in 1957.

5. *Viṁśatikā-Śāstram*

It is a small work of high merit on pure philosophy containing some elements of Neo-Śaivism. It was composed in 1951 at Bharatpur for the sake of Mishra Govinda Sharmā and was published in 1959 with two commentaries in Sanskrit and one in Hindi. Some very subtle principles of Neo-Śaivism have been discussed in it very briefly.

6. *Siddha-Mahārahasym*

It is an extensive work in eight chapters written in Sanskrit *Kārikās* and bears a brief commentary in Hindi. The commentator added one more chapter to it as a *khila* or addendum in the same style. The *Śāka* principle of Neo-Śaivism finds a detailed expression in this philosophic work. One of its chapters is devoted to several practices in yoga. The Śāmbhava Yoga, as taught to the author by sage Durvāsas, has been expressed in detail in that chapter. The last chapter of the work describes in detail most of the divine visions and some semi-divine discourses which the author had at different places as the results of his regular practice in Śāmbhava-Yoga. The Khila chapter also describes one such vision. The work was completed in 1963 and published through the encouragement from M.M. Gopinātha Kavirāja

in 1966 at Vārāṇasī. Its second edition, along with a Hindi translation and notes, was published by Shree-peetha in 1983. His works on religious matters are listed below.

7. *Amṛtastotra-Saṅgraha*

The Ācharya, while visiting Hardwār area of U.P., Kashmir Valley and Kāṅgṛā area of H.P., wrote several stotras eulogising Lord Śiva, Mother Goddess, Lord Kṛṣṇa, *Srī* Rāma and Hanumān at different times and different places. A collection of such hymns, was made by Shri R.L. Agrawal. The collection, along with a translation into Hindi, was published in 1983 at Delhi by the Vidvad Varakala Shrī Rādhā Kṛṣṇa Dhārmika Samsthān under the title Amṛtastotra-saṃgraha.

8. *Paraśurāmastotra*

A hymn eulogising Paraśurāma was composed by the Acharya in 1932 on the occasion of Paraśurāmajayantī at Mattan (Mārtaṇḍa Kṣetra) in Kashmir. The priests of the *Kṣetra* performed a *Puraścaraṇa* of the stotra and they believed afterwords that it was such performance which saved the *tīrtha* from the attacks and disturbances instigated and organized by some communal public leaders of Anantnag in the summer following the function. The Stotra, with a Hindi translation by the author, appeared in print three times since then. The last edition was published in 1957.

9. *Paraśiva-Prārthanā*

It consists of only one verse in *Śikhariṇī* metre and was composed at Nālāgaṛh in 1933. After writing it down the author thought that the compound word, '*baddhādarakaram*' was incorrect. Being an adjective of '*nijatanayam*' it should have been '*ādara-badha-karam*' but that would not fit in the metre. So he decided to make some correction in it, using some other words in place of the wrong compound word. But lo ! What happened as soon as the author completed his

evening prayer on that day ? A divine being, looking like a sage, appeared before him in the room and, prohibiting any change in the words of the verse, asserted that the verse was not incorrect. As for the above mentioned compound word, he advised to take it as an adverb and explained it this way : "*Baddhādarau karau yasmin karmaṇi yathā syātāṃ tathā*" and as soon as the author felt satisfaction about it, the divine being disappeared. The author mentions this episode in Siddha-mahā-rạhasya as well as in an edition of the prayer which was published several times since then as the author felt that its composition was the result of some divine inspiration and took it to be a divine *mantra*.

10. *Sapta-Padi-Hṛdayam*

It is a small work in Sanskrit verse throwing light on the significance of the rite of *Saptopadī* in Hindu marriage. It was composed in 1939 and was published subsequently at Bharatpur. It's second edition was published with a Sanskrit commentary and a Hindi translation in 1962 at that very place. It clarifies at length the significance of each word to be used on each of the seven steps in accordance with the *Gṛhya-sūtras*. It can be conveniently used at marriage ceremonies for the benefit of the couples to be married.

The Āchārya composed several works describing his visions of and discourses with some divine and semi-divine beings and three out of such works have appeared in print as separate booklets, while some other such works of smaller size are included in his *Siddhamahārahasyam*. The three booklet are :

11. *Sañjivani-Darśnam*

It was composed at Kulgam in Kashmir while the author was staying there with the writer of the work in hand for some time in 1962. It was published with a translation in Hindi at Bharatpur in 1963. It describes the accounts of the pilgrimage of the author to *Maṇikarṇa* in the Beas Valley of Himāchal. The descriptions of vallies, streams, springs,

hills etc., on the banks of Beas and Pārvati, are very beautiful and interesting. He stayed at Maṇikarṇa for a few days and was caught by malaria fever that started to attack him after every third day. He used to take rest for two days and walk back towards the planes for two days. Thus he reached a place known as Sultānpur in Kulū. There the fever attacked him very severely right from early morning. Lo ! what happened ? While he was lying alone on a mat in a *dharamashāla*, three divine beings with beautiful forms, dressed well in divine clothes, putting on beautiful shoes and holding small cane staffs in their hands, appeared in the south on his left side and a saintly looking divine being, holding a trident and a water-pot in his hands, appeared in the north on his right side. The latter gave him some nectar-like water to drink and imparted to him a divine *mantra* that conquers death. The author continued repeating the mantra without any break up to the dusk. All the four divine beings continued to stand by for the whole day. The parties looked at each other but did not have any conversation. At the time of dusk both the parties slipped away slowly in their respective directions without turning about and lo ! the Āchārya felt himself as freed from the killing high fever.

The author narrated such account to the writer of these lines and, on his request, noted it down in beautiful Sanskrit verse under the title '*Sañjivani-darśanam*'. It is a beautiful poem.

12. *Deśika Darśanam*

It is another such poem which was composed by the author in 1962 at Kulgam in Kashmir. It describes the vision of sage Durvāsas which the author had at his ancestral home at Vārāṇasi in 1920 when he was sixteen plus in age. In such meeting with the sage he got initiation from him in the highest type of Śāmbhava-Yoga. The descriptive poem appeared in print in 1983 along with the new edition of *Siddhamahārahasya*, both the booklets being bound together as one volume.

13. *Siddha-Mānaava-Darśanam*

A siddha in human form met Śri Āchāryajī in 1930 in the lower compound of the shrine of Mother Śārikā at Srinagar and had a discourse with him on the verse of *Pañcastavi* starting with the words 'Māyā-Kundalinī' etc. The siddha, named Śivajī, clad as a Kashmiri Pandit and speaking in Kashmiri tone, became desirous to rouse in Āchāryajī the exact significance of the verse concerned. For such purpose he lead him to a house in the interior portion of the old city and advised him to come there next day. Āchāryaji marked the house and the small lane and came next day with the help of such marking and had a long meeting with Śivajī who, casting a fixed gaze on him through an attitude of graciousness, roused the *Kuṇḍalini* power in him and brought about in him the blissful experience of its movements, both upwards and downwards, turn by turn, through the six vital nerve centres inside the spinal cord. It continued for a long time and came to a close only when Śivaji removed his gaze from Āchāryaji.

In the view of the writer of these lines, it was a kind of *Veddhadikṣā* which Śivaji conducted with respect to Āchāryajī. After a few days the Āchārya came to see Śivajī again, knocked the outer door of the compound and called for Śivajī again and again in a loud voice, but there was no response from within the house. The neighbours came out and told Āchāryaji that the house had remained uninhabited for the last several years and no Śivaji lived there. He could not find any clue to that Śivaji or his where-abouts anywhere in the city and did not see him again. The poem describing such episode was composed by the author in 1963 and it appeared in *Śodha-prabhā*, the magazine of the Lal Bahādur Shāstri Sanskrit Vidyāpeeṭha, Delhi, in 1978.

14. *Amṛta-Sūkti-Pañcāśikā*

Sri Āchāryaji expressed in Sanskrit verse his views on timely topics at different occasions and these were published by him in different issues of Sri Svādhyāya, a quarterly

Hindi journal published by Svādhyāyasadan, established by him at Solan in Himachal Pradesh. Fifty verses were afterwards selected from them in 1953 and published at Pune in 1973 along with a Sanskrit commentary under the title *Amṛtasūkti-Pañcāśikā*. The poem describes many things of religious, philosophical, social and political character. The criticism of the prevalent political system of India, as contained in it, is remarkable.

Sri Āchāryajī composed several works on political science and some poetical works as well. An introduction to them is also given below :

15. *Rāṣṭrāloka*

Sri Āchāryaji wrote a few works on the right politics, worthy to be owned according to his integral view on life. In 1933 he wrote a small but highly valuable work in Sanskrit Kārikās under the title Rāṣṭrāloka. It was published in 1934, republished with a Hindi translation in 1947 and reprinted in 1948. The small work is meant to point out to the nation as to what kind of national politics, in keeping with the worthy ancient traditions based on Indian view on life, should we adopt in the present age of science and technology. It deals with several topics of politics and administration from the view point of religion and philosophy.

16. *Rāṣṭra Sañjivana Bhāṣyam*

It is a detailed Sanskrit commentary by the Āchārya himself on his own *Rāṣṭrāloka* and is one of his most important and valuable works. It presents an integral study of spiritual philosophy and actual politics and aims at their mutual synthesis. Like Bhagavadgītā it synthesises both such aspects of the problems of life. It is preserved in manuscript form and is yet to be printed, translated and explained in Hindi which means a colossal task.

17. *Saṅkrānti Pañcadaśī*

It is a poem written in lyrical style and depicting the

character of the right and desirable socio-political revolution that can lead the nation towards proper attainment of all the four aims of life. It is in fact a charming piece of Sanskrit poetry. It was composed in 1946 and was published with verse and prose translation into Hindi in 1970.

18. *Varakala-Vamśa-Caritam*

Shri Āchāryaji composed a lengthy work in Kāvya style on the history of his ancestors, near relatives, teachers, friends etc. under the title *Varakalavamśa-Caritam*. It is lying in manuscript form. If published, it could provide sufficient information regarding many Sanskrit scholars of the past one hundred years. The personal history of Āchārya-ji is also a part of this poem.

19. *Other Works*

He wrote a few short poems on topics like a letter to his ungrateful friend, a message to one so near in relation to him and so on. His short stories, providing correct information about the lives of certain saints, appeared in different issues of Śrī Svādhyāya. Description of some of his own experiences, which he had when he was a child, did also appear in Śrī Svādhyāya and so did his articles on higher philosophy which appeared in several issues of the magazine under the heading "Vastu-Sthiti Kyā hai". Besides he wrote a few ***praśastis*** in Sanskrit verse and one written in honour of M.M. Gopinath Kavirāj on the occasion of his birthday at Vārāṇasī is highly remarkable among them. In addition he wrote ghazals in Urdu and translations of some Persian verses into Sanskrit verse. When working at Sarasvatībhavan Library of the then Queen's Sanskrit College, Benaras, he edited several works like *Tripurā-Rahasya*.

Āchārya Amṛtavāgbhava transcended to the abode of siddhas in 1982 and three boards are carrying on his mission at present. Those are :

1. Śrī Peeṭha, Saiddha-darśana, śodha-Sansthāna, work-

ing at present at Jammu.

2. Vidvad-Varakla-Śrī-Rādhā-Kṛiṣṇa-Dhārmika Sansthān, Delhi.

3. Amṛta-vāgbhava Śodha-Sansthān, Amṛtapath, Janatā Colony, Jaipur.

The institution named Śrī-Svādhyāyasadan, established at Solan, was later shifted to Bharatpur where it was working well upto 1980.

APPENDIX A

Prominent Authors

Group A	*Great Masters of the Subject :*
1. Sage Durvasas	He gave the teaching of the subject a fresh start some time about the 3rd or 4th century A.D. His available works : 1. Paraśambhu-mahimnastavaḥ. 2. Tripurā-mahima-stotram. 3. Lalitā-stava-ratnam.
2. Maṭhikāgurus. (8th century)	They were the teachers of the school started by Tryamabakāditya, the disciple of Durvāsas. The divine scriptures of the Trika system were revealed to them. The teacher among them who settled in Kashmir was know as Saṅgamāditya who transplanted the school in the Valley. Descendents and disciples in his line are known as Mṭhikā-guravaḥ.
3. Vasugupta : (8th century)	Śivasūtra was discovered and propagated by him. He discovered Spanda Principle of Śaivism. He was a great siddha and a Maṭhikā-guru.

4. Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa (9th century)	His works=(1) Spanda-Kārikā and (2) Spanda-vṛtti. His works that have been lost : (1) Tattva-vicāra, (2) Madhu-vāhinī, (3) Tattvārtha-cintāmaṇi and (4) Sva-svabhāva-sambodhana. He was a famous *siddha*, a master of Kula and Trika systems, a scholar and the author who built Spanda-śāstra.
5. Somānanda (9th century)	He wrote Śivadṛṣṭi, the first philosophic work on Kashmir Śaivism. His vṛtti on Parātrīśikā has been lost. A master of Kula and Trika systems, he had perfect hold over all the schools of Indian thought, some of them not known at present. He also was a *siddha*.
6. Utpaladeva (9th century)	He developed the philosophic side of Kashmir Śaivism. He had perfect mastery on the theoretical study and theological practice of Trika and Kula systems and was a siddha having practical knowledge of both. His available works=(1) Īśvarapratya-bhijñā, (2) Ajaḍa-pramātṛ-siddhi, (3) Īśvara-siddhi, (4) Sambandha-siddhi, (5) Śivastotrāvalī, and Vṛttis on (6) Īśvara siddhi, and (7) Sambandha-siddhi. His partly available works are Vṛttis on (8) Śivadṛṣṭi and (9) Īśvarapratya-bhijñā. His works that have been lost are : (1) Īśvara-pratya-bhijna-vivṛti and Vṛtti on Ajaḍa-pramātṛ-siddhi. He was a good poet as well.

7. Abhinavagupta (10th. and 11th. centuries; 925 to 1025-Approximately)	He is the highest authority on both, the theory and practice of Kashmir Śaivism; is the interpreter of the Pratyabhijñā philosophy, and the builder of the Trika system of practical Śaivism. He was a successful Śiva yogin having perfect mastery over the systems of Kula and Trika (including Krama) and was a scholar having the correct knowledge of all the subjects of study prevalent in his time. He is the final authority on the interpretation of the theory of Kashmir Śaivism and its Trika system of practical theology. His original works on the Trika are : (1) Tantrāloka; (2) Tantrasāra; and (3) Mālini-vijaya vārtika ; (4) Parātrīśikā-vivaraṇa is an important commentary on a scriptural work. His commentaries on Pratya-bhijñā section are; (5) Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-vimarśinī; and (6) Īśvarapratya-bhijñā-vivṛti-Vimarśinī. His very important works that have been lost are : (1) Śivadṛṣṭyālocana, (2 to 4) Vimarśinīs on the three siddhis of Utpaladeva, (5) Kramakeli on Kramastotra of Siddhanātha, and (6) Pūrva-pañcikā on Mālinī Tantra. His works useful for beginners are : (1) Bodha—pañca-daśikā, (2) Paramārthacarcā, (3) Anuttarāṣṭikā, and (4) Paramārtha-sāra. His important stotras=(1) Kramastotra, (2) Bhairavāstotra, (3) Dehastha-devatā-cakra-stotra, and (4) Anubhavanivedana-stotra. He was an authority on dramaturgy

	and Alaṅkāra-śāstra as well. Many more of his works, quoted by him without naming them, have been lost. His Tantrāloka is a unique work on theology and yoga in the whole world.
8. Śambhunātha (10th. century)	He was the master of the Ardha-Tryambaka school at Jālandhara-pīṭha (Kāṅgrā) having perfect mastery over all the secret doctrines of philosophy, theology and ritual of the Trika and Kula systems of practical Śaivism. It was he who removed all the doubts that Abhinavagupta had with regard to mysterious principles and esoteric doctrines of Śaivism. Only a partly available work, that can be as—cribed to him, is Kramstotra quoted in the commentary on Tantrāloka. He was known as Siddhanātha as well.
Group B	*Authors of Secondary Importance :*
1. Bhaṭṭa Narāyaṇā (9th. century)	A grand-teacher of Abhinavagupta. He wrote Stava-cintāmaṇi, a philosophic hymn to Śiva.
2. Bhatta Pradyumna (9th. century)	A disciple of Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa. A Śaiva aspirant devoted to the Śakti aspect of the Absolute. His Tattva-garbha-stotra is partly available in quotations. His Śākta views have been criticised by Somānanda in his Śivadṛṣṭi.

3. Rāmakaṇṭha (late 9th. century)	His works=(1) *Spanda-vivṛti* and *Sarvatobhadra* commentary on Bhagavad-gītā. His commentary on Śtava-cintamaṇi has been lost.
4. Bhaṭṭa-divākara-Vatsa. (Early 10th. century)	Only a few quotations from his (1) Vivekāñjana and Kakṣyā-stotra are available.
5. Bhaṭṭa-Bhaāskara (Early 10th century)	He wrote Śivasūtravārtika providing the traditional interpretation of Śivasūtra. He was one of the teachers of Abhinavagupta.
6. Vāmanadattāchārya (Early 10th. century)	Only some qutations from his Samvit-prakāśa are available. He also was a teacher of Abhinavagupta.
7. Utpala Vaiṣṇava (10th. century)	His Spanda-pradīpikā is available. He was basically a follower of the pāñcarātra system of Vaiṣṇavism.
8. Kṣemarāja (11th. century)	His works: (1) Pratyabhijñā-hṛdaya, (2) Parāprāveśikā, (3) Spanda-sandoha, (4) Spanda-nirṇaya, (5) Śiva-sūtra-vimarśinī, (6) Svacchanda-uddyota, (7) Netra-tantra-uddyota, and Tikās on (8) Śivastotrāvali, (9) Stava-cintāmaṇi and (10) Sāmba-pañcāśikā, (11) His Vijñāna-bhairava-uddyota is available in fragments.
9. Abhinavagupta 'Viśeṣa' (11th. century)	He was probably that cousin of Abhinavagupta whose name he mentions as Abhinava in his Tantrāloka. He wrote Tantra-vaṭa-dhānikā, a gist of Tantra-sāra.

10. Varadarāja (11th. century)	Wrote Śivāsutra-vartika. The author was a disciple of Kṣemarāja come from Kerala.
11. Yogrāja (11th. century)	He wrote a scholarly commentary on the Paramārthasāra of Abhinavagupta.
12. Jayaratha (12th. century)	(1) His voluminous commentary named Viveka on the Tantrāloka of Abhinavagupta is available in 12 volumes. (2) His other works are Vāmakeśvarī-mata-vivaraṇa and Haracarita-cintāmaṇi.
13. Virūpakṣanātha (12th. century)	He was a siddha who may have belonged to Gangetic valley. His work Virūpakṣa-pañcaśika with the commentary by Vidyācakravarti, belonging to Kannauj is available.
14. Nāgārjuna (Śaiva) (13th. century)	He was a siddha living at Jwālāmukhī in H.P. He belonged to the line of Śambhunātha. His works= (1) Paramarcanatriṃśikā and (2) Cittasantoṣa-trimśikā (both philosophical-lyrics).
15. Śivopādhyāya (18th century)	(1)Commentary on Vijñānabhairava, (2) Śrīvidyā, (3) Gayatrībhāṣya, (4) Commentary on Bahurūpagarbha (5) Śivarātri-nirṇaya etc.
16. Bhāskarakaṇṭha (19th. century)	(1) Bhāskarī commentary on Īśvarapratyabhijñā-vimarśinī.
Group C	*Nātha and Kaula Authors :*
1. Ādinātha	Anuttāra-prakāśa-pañcāśikā, an important work with the time of its

	composition not certain. It does not bear any commentary.
2. Śivānanda Nātha (8th. century)	Originator of the system of Kali-upāsanā in Kashmir. Two verses from his pen have been preserved by Jayaratha in his commentary on Tantrāloka.
Avatārakanātha	Śivānanda-nātha is referred to by such name as well. Probably he may be identical with Ādinātha, though it is not certain.
3. Puṇyānanda-nātha	(1) Kāmakalā-vilāsa.
4. Amṛtānandanātha.	(1) Commentary on Kāmakalā-vilāsa. (2) Cidvilāsa.
5. Svatantrānanda-nātha.	Mātṛkā-cakra-viveka.
6. Mahesvarānanda (14th. century)	Lived in Cola country in far south, wrote Mahārtha-mañjarī in a dialect of Mahārāṣṭrī prākṛt and explained it in Sanskrit in his Mahārthamañjarī-Parimala.
7. Vātūla-nātha	Wrote a small work named Vātūla-nātha-sūtra.
8. Cakrapāṇinātha	Wrote Bhávopahára, a philosophic eulogy to Śiva. It bears a commentary by Ramyadeva.
9. Śitikaṇṭha	A Kaula author, the writer of Mahānaya-prakāśa.

10. Sāhib-Kaula	A Great author with (1) Devināma-vilāsa, (2) Śivajīva-daśaka, (3) Saccidānanda-kandalī, (4) Kalpa-vṛkṣa-prabandha etc. to his credit.
Group D	*Authors of Neo-Śaivism*
1. Āchārya Amṛtavā-gbhava 1903 to 1982	(1) Ātma-vilāsa (2) Viṃśatikā-śāstra. (3) Siddhamahā-rahasya, (4) Parama-śiva-stotra, (5) Mandākrā-ntā-stotra, and (6) Mahānubhava-Śakti-stava.
2. Baljinnatha Pandita	(1) Svātantrya-darpaṇa with commentary in Sanskrit (2) Kashmīra-Śaiva-darśana in Hindi and several works in English. (3) Commentaries on and translations of the works by Āchārya Amṛta-vāgbhava.

APPENDIX B

Important Works

Section A—Scriptural Works

1. Śiva Āgamas like Kāmika, Yogaja, Ajita etc., ten in number.
2. Rudra Āgamas like Vijaya, Svāyambhuva, Kiraṇa etc., eighteen in number.
3. Bhairava Āgamas like Svacchanda, Rudra-yāmala etc., sixtyfour in number.
4. *Trika Āgamas* :

(i) Siddhā Tantra	Only quotations from it are now available.
(ii) Vāmaka Tantra	(Not now available). Its name is printed as *Nāmaka*, probably on account of confusion between na and va in Śāradā script.
(iii) Mālinī Tantra	Its final portion alone, named as Mālinīvijayottara-Tantra is available. It is the main source of most of the theological doctrines of the Trika system of practical Śaiva monism.

5. Vijñāna-bhairava-(with commentaries)	A scriptural text claiming itself to be a part of Rudrayāmala and dealing with the yoga of the Trika system aimed at self realization.
6. Parātrīśikā (with Vivaraṇa by Abhinavagupta)	It also claims to be a chapter of Rudrayāmala. As explained by Abhinavagupta, it deals with subtler and esoteric doctrines of Śāmbhavayoga etc., and illuminates some deeper secrets of philosophy and theology of Śaivism. It is wrongly called Parātriṃśikā.
7. Parātrīśika-vṛtti	A short commentary on the text of Parātrīśikā by Śomānanda. It has been lost.
8. Śiva-sūtra	It was revealed to Vasugupta who extracted from it the theory and the practice regarding the principle of *Spanda* and imparted that to his disciples.

Section B—Philosophic Treatises :

1. Śivadṛṣṭi by Somānanda	It is the first philosophic treatise written on Kashmir Śaivism in a strictly philosophic style and through a typical philosophic method. It deals with philosophy, theology and history of Kashmir Śaivism. Besides, it explains and refutes the theories of all other schools of thought, known and unknown at present. In addition, it points out all objections that can be raised by other schools of thought against Śaiva monism and dismisses them, one by one, through logical arguments.

2. Śivadṛṣṭi-Vṛtti by Utpaladeva	It is a short paraphrase of the couplets of Śivadṛṣṭi and is very helpful in understanding the arguments put up in it, but, unfortunately, about one half of it has been lost and Śivadṛṣṭi remains unintelligible on many points on such account.
3. Śiva-dṛṣṭyalocāna by Abhinavagupta	It was a detailed commentary on Śivadṛṣṭi but has very unfortunately been lost.
4. Īśvara-pratyabhijña by Utpaladeva	It is the most important work on the philosophy of Kashmir Śaivism. It refutes the non-existentialism of the Buddhists and establishes the eternal existence of an absolute subjective consciousness having all divine powers. It deals philosophically with metaphysics, ontology, cosmogony, cosmology, epistemology, causation etc., of Kashmir Śaivism and discusses scriptural doctrines regarding the cosmic functions of the Absolute. It works out an analysis and synthesis of the whole phenomenon into different categories of objective and subjective elements in the light of Śaiva Āgamas and leads finally to the realization or rather recognition of the exactly real nature of one's self which is the highest aim of all life.
5. Īśvara pratyabhijña-Vṛtti by Utpaladeva	It is a brief paraphrase of the couplets of Īśvarapratyabhijña but has partly been lost.

6. Īśvara-pratyabhijña-Vivṛti by Utpaladeva	It was an elucidative commentary on the vṛtti mentioned above and was a very good scholarly work keeping in view the principles of all other schools of Indian philosophy, but has now been lost.
7. Īśvara-pratyabhijña-Vimarśinī by Abhinavagupta	It is an elucidative commentary explaining the couplets of Īśvarapratyabhijñā and has raised that work to the position of the highest importance in the whole philosophic literature of Śaiva monism.
8. Īśvara-pratyabhijñavivṛti-Vimarśinī by Abhinavagupta	It is a voluminous work explaining the scholarly work named Īśvarapratyabhijñavivṛti of Utpaladeva ; but, since the vivṛti has been lost, it does not yield the results which it was meant to yield.
9. to 11. Three Siddhis by Utpaladeva (Siddhi-trayī)	1. Ajaḍa-Pramātṛ-siddhi, refuting the non-existentialism of the Buddhists and establishing the eternal existence of Atman as a witness to the flux of momentary mind. 2. Īśvarasiddhi, refuting the atheism of Sāṃkhya and establishing the existence of God through logical arguments. 3. Sambandha-siddhi, establishing the manifestation of relativity on which depend the concepts of time, space, generality etc.
12 to 14. Three Vṛttis on these by Utpaladeva	These provide paraphrase of the couplets of the three Siddhis. Vṛtti on Ajaḍa-pramātṛsiddhi has been

	lost, but the other two are available. Pt. Harabhatta Śāstri wrote a fresh vrtti on No. 1.
15 to 17. Three Vimarśinīs on Utpaladeva's three Siddhis by Abhinavagupta	None of these is available now, but references to two of them are found in *Mahārtha—mañjarī-Parimala* of Maheśvarānanda. It is highly probable that the third Siddhi also bore such a Vimarśinī.
18. Paramārthasāra by Abhinavagupta	It is a very useful work that can serve as a text book for beginners. It bears a scholarly-commentary by Yogarāja, a disciple of Kṣemarāja.
19. Bodha-pañcadaśikā by Abhinavagupta	A very brief work expressing the fundamentals of the philosophy of Kashmir Śaivism.
20. Paramārtha-carcā by Abhinavagupta	A still smaller work presenting *Sattarka* of Śaiva monism.
21. Parā-Prāveśikā by Kṣemarāja	A small work meant to serve as a text book for a beginner.
22. Pratyabhijñā-hṛdaya by Kṣemarāja	A small work with a big scholarly commentary by the author. It is meant to serve as a text book for a beginner, but creates generally confusion in him on account of a greater show of the high scholarship and intelligence of the author, found in it.
23. Ṣaṭtriṃśat-tattva-Sandoha by Ānanda Rājānaka	Basically a portion of Saubhāgya-subhagodaya of Amṛtānanda commented upon as an independent work.

Section C—Śpanda Śāstra

1. Spanda-kārıkā by Bhaṭṭa Kallāṭa	A work in Kārikā style throwing light on a direct method to realize Spanda, the divine stir of consciousness, and also on the results of such realization as well as distinction between Spanda and the nihilistic tranquillity of *Suṣuptı*.
2. Spanda-vṛtti by Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa	A paraphrase of the couplets of Śpanda-kārikā.
3. Spana-sūtra	Another name of Śpanda-kārıkā.
4. Spanda-sarvasva by Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa	Spandakārikā along with vṛtti is known by such name.
5. Spanda-vivṛti by Rāmakaṇṭha	A detailed commentary on Spanda-kārikā composed in accordance with Spanda-vṛtti.
6. Spanda-nirṇaya by kṣemarāja	Another detailed commentary on Śpanda-kārikā written by Kṣemarāja and not necessarily following Śpanda-vṛtti.
7. Spanda-sandoha by Kṣemarāja	A small work throwing light on the significance of the Spanda principle of Kashmir Śaivism.
8. Spanda-pradīpıkā by Utpala-Vaiṣṇava	It is a scholarly commentary on Spanda-kārikā written by a Vaiṣṇava author who tries his best to elevate Pāñcarātra system to the position of Spanda-sāstra by quoting profusely from Vaiṣṇava Āgamas. It provides historical information about some authors and works on Śaivism.

Section D—Works on Trika Theology

1. Mālinī-vijaya-vārtika by Abhinavagupta	It is an extensive work throwing light on several mysterious topics of philosophy and theology as expressed in the first part of Mālinī-Tantra. It presents a deeper study in Trika system but does not bear any commentary or notes which it requires very badly.
2. Mālinī-śloka-vārtika	Another name of Mālinī-vijaya-vārtika.
3. Tantrāloka by Abhinavagupta	It is the most important work on the theology and ritual of the Trika system of practical Śaiva monism and throws a brilliant light on some principles of its theory as well. It has no parallel in works on theology in the whole world.
4. Tantrāloka-viveka by Jayaratha	It is a scholarly and a detailed commentary on Tantrāloka published in twelve volumes. It is very helpful in studying Tantrāloka and is a store-house of information regarding many works on Śaivism and many of its authors.
5. Tantrasāra of Abhinavagupta	It is a gist of Tantrāloka written in simple prose. Apabhraṃśa quotations given in it may have been taken from the works of *yoginīs* like Keyūravatī and Madanikā who learnt Kālīnaya from Śivānandanātha and transmitted it to their disciples.

6. Tantra-vaṭa-dhānikā by Abhinavagupta-viśeṣa	It is a gist of Tantrasāra written, most probably, by Abhinava, a cousin of the great Abhinavagupta, mentioned by name by him in his Tantrāloka.
7. Parātrīśikā-Vṛtti by Somānanda	It must have been a work of great importance, but has been lost.
8. Parā-triśikā-Vivaraṇa by Abhinavagupta	It is a detailed commentary on the Āgamic text throwing light on *Mātṛkā*, *Mālinī* and several other mysterious and esoteric practical doctrines of Kashmir Śaivism.
9. Parātrīśikā Laghu-Vṛtti	It is a commentary written by some later Pandit and ascribed to Abhinavagupta just to make it popular.
10. Parātriśikā-Tātparya-dīpikā	A running commentary in verse on Parātrīśikā, it is a work of minor importance.
11. Parātrīśikā-vivṛti	A commentary by Lakṣmīrama, it is of minor importance.
12. Virūpākṣa-pañcāśika by Virūpakṣanātha	It is a work dealing with the philosophy and theology of Śaiva monism through a peculiar method of Siddhas. It bears a commentary by some Vidyācakravarti.

Section E—Philosophic Poems

Poem	*Author*	*Particulars*
1. Paraśambhu-mahimna-stava	Durvāsas	A lengthy poem in thirteen sections suggesting many principles and doctrines of

			philosophy and theology. The most ancient work expressing the Spanda principle.
2.	Tripurā-mahima-stotra.	Durvāsas	A hymn to Goddess Tripurā suggesting doctrines of Śaiva philosophy.
3.	Lalitā-stava-ratna	Durvāsas	A hymn to Divine Mother dealing with *Śrīcakra-Upāsanā*.
4.	Sāmba-pañcāśikā	Sāmba	An eulogy with double meanings written in praise of both, Sungod and Almighty God, and attributed to Sāmba, a son of Lord Kṛṣṇa.
5.	Stava-cintā-maṇi	Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa	A hymn to Śiva suggesting philosophic principles.
6.	Śivastotrāvali	Utpaladeva	A collection of highly beautiful philosophic eulogies to Śiva.
7.	Kramastotra	Siddhanātha	A partly available hymn eulogizing twelve Kālīs of the Krama system of Śaiva yoga of the Trika-acāra.
8.	Kramastotra	Abhinava-gupta	An eulogy dealing with the same topic of Trika theology.
9.	Bhairavastotra	-do-	A philosophic hymn to Śiva which is highly popular in Kashmir.
10.	Cidgagana-candrikā	Śrīvatsa	A hymn to Mother Goddess suggesting certain methods of Tantric sādhanā, including

			Kalī-worship of the Krama system. It has been wrongly attributed to Kālidāsa.
11.	Paraṃarcana triṃśikā	Śaiva Nāgārjuna	It deals at length with the Parāpūjā of the Tāntric theology of Śaiva monism.
12.	Citta-santoṣa-triṃśikā	-do-	It describes the psychic approach of a Śivayogin towards all phenomena after his having attained self-realization and jīvan-mukti.
13.	Śivajīva-daśakam	Sāhib-Kaula	It describes a sudden and spontaneous flash of self realization.
14.	Paramaśiva-stotra	Achārya Amṛta-vāgbhava	It is an eulogy to Almighty God Śiva appearing in the form of thirty-six tattvas.
15.	Mandākrāntā-stotram.	-do-	A philosophic hymn to Mother goddess in *Mandākrāntā* metre.
16.	Mahānubhava Śakti-stotra	-do-	A hymn eulogizing the five primary powers of the Lord.

Section F—Works on Neo-Śaivism

1.	Ātma-vilāsa	Āchārya Amṛta-vāgbhava	A detailed work full of discussions on the validity of the theistic principles of Śaiva monism, written in Kārikā style. It criticises the Vivarta-vāda of Vedānta.
2.	Atma-vilāsa-sundarī	-do-	A detailed Hindi explanation of the couplets of Ātmavilāsa.

3. Ātmavilāsa-vimarśinī	Balajinnātha Pandita	A detailed Sanskrit Commentary on Atmavilāsa, to be published very soon.
4. Viṃśatikā-śāstram	Āchārya Amṛta-Vāgbhava	A brief work on some fundamental principles of Neo-Śaivism.
5. Vimarśini on above.	Balajinnātha Pandita	A detailed commentary in Sanskrit on Vimśatikā-śāstram.
6. Prakāśinī on the same.	Raghunātha Candra	A detailed commentary in Sanskrit on Viṃśatikā śāstram.
7. Prasādini on the same.	Rāmānanda Tiwāṛī	A Hindi commentary on Viṃśatikā-śastram.
8. Siddhamahā-rahasyam	Āchārya Amṛta-vāgbhava	A work expressing several principles of Neo-Śaivism in detail and describing some results of Śāmbhavayoga, published with a foreword by M.M. Gopināth Kavirāja.
9. Siddhamahā-rahasyam in Hindi	Balajinnatha Pandita	A Hindi translation with notes on the couplets of Siddha-mahārahasyam.
10. Siddha-mahā-rahasya-vimarśinī.	-do-	A detailed Sanskrit commentary on Siddhamāha-rāhasya, not yet published.
11. Vastusthiti-prakāśa	Āchārya Amṛta-vāgbhava	An original work in Hindi on the Neo-Śaivism, published along with Parama-śiva-stotram by the same author.

12.	Svātantrya-darpaṇa	Balajinnātha Pandita	It presents the basic detailed principles of Kashmir Śaivism in accordance with the views of the ancient great masters of the subject and integrates the principles of Neo-Śaivism with them.
13.	Svātantrya-darpana-Ṭīkā.	Balajinnātha Pandita	It is a short Sanskrit commentary in the form of notes on the couplets of Svātantrya-darpaṇa.
14.	A mirror of self-supremacy	-do-	It is an English translation (with notes) of Svātantrya-darpaṇa which is going to be published very soon.

Section G—Works by Kaulas and Nāthas

1.	Anuttara-prākaśa Pañcaśikā	Ādinātha	It is an important work on Śaiva monism written by some siddha. It should have borne a commentary. It mentions the term spanda.
2.	Mātṛkā-cakra-Viveka	Svatantrā-nanda-Nātha	It is a wonderful work composed by some siddha in his own independent way. It deals with Śrīcakra, Mātṛkā system, divine powers of the Absolute, pure tattvas and other such important topics of Śaivism discussed through an independent method. It bears a detailed commentary by an ancient author, who being a Vedāntic monk, has missed certain very im-

			portant points on Tāntric philosophy and theology expressed in the *Vasantatilakā* verses in the work.
3.	Mahārtha-mañjarī	Maheśvara-nanda Nātha	It is a work on the philosophy and theology of Śaiva monism, written by a Kaula siddha in a dialect of Mahārastrī prākṛt.
4.	Mahārtha-mañjari-Parimala	-do-	It is a scholarly commentary in Sanskrit, written by the author on his own Mahārāṣtrī couplets mentioned above. It is a store-house of information regarding the history of Kashmir-Śaivism. It presents Śaiva monism from the view of a Kaula.
5.	Kāmakalā-vilāsa	Puṇyānanda Nātha	It deals with the theological doctrines in connection with the *Upāsanā* of *Śrīcakra*.
6.	Kāmakalā-vilasā-Ṭīkā	Amṛtānanda Nātha	It is a Sanskrit commentary on the above mentioned work of Puṇyānanda Nātha.
7.	Cidvilāsa	-do-	It is a small work dealing with the fundamental principles of Śaiva monism.
8.	Vatūlanātha Sūtra	Vātūlanātha	A small work on Śaiva monism composed by a Kaula Siddha.
9.	Vatūlanātha-sūtra-Ṭīkā	Ananta-śakti	It is a commentary on Vatūla-nāthan-sūtra.

10.	Mahānaya-prakāśa	Śitikaṇṭha	A work on Kaula theology written in accordance with Vāmakeśvarī Tantra. Its couplets are in Kashmirian Apabhraṃśa language and the commentary is in Sanskrit.
11.	Bhāvopahāra	Cakrapāṇi Nātha	It is an eulogy to Śiva alluding philosophic principles of Śaiva monism.
12.	Bhāvopahāra-Vivaraṇa	Ramyadeva	It is a commentary on Bhāvopahāra.
13.	Devināma-Vilāsa	Sahib Kaula	It is a lengthy poem based on Bhavānī-sahasra-naman, a Tantric hymn to Mother Goddess, and is written by a Kaula who was a siddha.

A SUPPLEMENT

Further Historical Information

1. *Durvāsas*

According to Hindu mythology Durvāsas is the son of sage Atri and the pious lady Anasūyā. He is being taken as a ***cirajīvin***, a person living for long long ages. The tradition of monistic Śaivism takes him as the originator of that school of philosophy which is now known as Kashmir Śaivism. Besides, he is the first human teacher of the fresh teaching of the Trika school of Śaivite sādhanā. People of the present age may take him as a mythical figure. But his perpetual existence, along with a particular name and form, is in fact an undeniable reality. Āchārya Amṛtavāgbhava, the originator of Neo Śaivism, had a vision of Durvāsas in 1919 A.D. at his ancestral home at Vārāṇasī. The sage taught the boy Āchārya a highest type of Śāmbhava yoga through which he had a direct realization of the main principles and doctrines of Śaiva monism expressed by him in his important philosophic works like Ātma-vilāsa, Viṃśatikā-śastram and Mahānubhava-Śakti-stotram. (See his Deśika darśanam and Siddhamahārahasyam-44 to 46.) Many mythological stories describing the wrath of Durvāsas, mostly based on mere poetic imagination, can be taken as fiction, lying very far from real history. Such stories were created even by Śaivas like Kālidāsa and Bāṇabhaṭṭa, not to speak of Vaiṣṇavas. Āchārya Amṛtavāgbhava saw him as the personified divine compassion of the Lord. Information about his literary contribution to Śaivism has already been given in detail. The saying,

"Aghorānnāparo mantro Mahimno nāparā stutiḥ" pertains, in fact, to such hymn by Duvāsas and not to that by Puṣpadanta. Besides, the hymn by Puṣpadanta is mythological in character. The philosophic term *Spanda* finds its earliest use in two verses of Paraśambhu-mahima-stava. (ch. VI-4 and5).

2. *Vasugupta*

As has already been said, Vasugupta, the discoverer of Śivasūtra, was a *Maṭhikāguru* in the line of Tryambakāditya. He can, most probably, have belonged to the family of Atrigupta who was a Brahmana of the highest rank, born in the gotra of Agastya (See T.A. XXXVII-38), He should not therefore be taken as a Vaiśya on account of his surname 'Gupta'.

Vasugupta either lived or practised *sādhanā* at some place under the foot of Mahādeva mountain, situated to the east of Srinagar and the sūtras of Śiva were revealed to him in that very mountainous area. He discovered in them the essence of the principle of Spanda, as well as the theological method of its actual realization through a yogic practice of directing one's attention to the constant spiritual stir of his innermost self-awareness, manifesting itself outwardly in the form of the finer functions of animation. Such flutter of self-awareness is known as *Spanda.* Regular practice in the intuitional realization of Spanda results in direct realization of the exact nature of the real self of a being and a practitioner discovers himself to be none other than the Almighty God, manifesting outwardly the whole phenomenal existence, along with all its functions, brought about by Him through the divine stir of His superior spiritual vibration which consists of a constant flutter of limitless blissfulnes. Such basic character of one's innermost consciousness was termed by him as Spanda. He taught the philosophic significance of Spanda and the theological method of its realization to his disciples and Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa among them built the Spanda-śāstra through his works like Spanda-kārikā, Spanda-sarvasva ect., as already discussed. Such practice became very popular with Kashmirian sādhakas.

As has already been said, Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa mentioned Vasugupta as the master preceptor who gathered and knit together (Dṛbdham) the nectar of Spanda (spandāmṛtam) out of the ocean of Śivasūtra, and such description of Vasugupta, as the collector of the principle of Spanda, created such a deep impression in the minds of most of the ancient teachers, authors and scholars of Kashmir Śaivism that even Abhinavagupta took Vasugupta as the author of Śpandakārikā. Such indication is contained in his Vivṛtivimarśinī (I.P.V.V. vol. II-p.312). Such things do happen very often. The terms Apavarga[1], Kaivalya[2], Nirvāṇa[3] and Brahmanirvāṇa[4] do in fact denote different types of the functions of animation in Suṣupti, the sleeping state, but have ever since been accepted and used as synonymns meaning liberation, even though these are defined differently in the respective schools of philosophy. That is due just to a sort of non-attention and not to ignorance. Similar has been the case with the authorship of Spandakārikā.

3. *Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa*

Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa was such a great siddha who had attained so much fame in Kashmir that Kalhaṇa could not ignore him while writing the accounts of only the rulers of that land along with their socio-political activities. Kallaṭa has been described by him as the foremost one among such ***siddhas*** who came down to earth for the uplift of mankind that was accomplished during the reign of king Avantivarman. (R.T, V-66). The indigenous Brahmaṇas of Kashmir were known as Bhaṭṭas. Being a Bhaṭṭa, he belonged to some indigenous family of the Brahmaṇas of Kashmir, just like other Bhaṭṭas e.g. Mammaṭa, Kaiyaṭa, Lollaṭa, Udbhaṭa etc. Having attai-

1. Apavargastyāga-mokṣayoh, Kriyāvasāne sāphalye "(Med. Kosa.), meaning absolute lack of propensity towards willing, knowing and doing as propounded in Nyāya-vaiśeṣika.
2. Kevalasya bhāvah Kaivalyam, meaning absolute loneliness of the Sāṃkhya yoga conception of liberation.
3. Extinction of Ālaya vijñāna, as propounded by the Buddhists.
4. Merger into Brahman as taught by Advaita-Vedānta.

ned prominence during the reign of Avantivarman, he can be placed in the middle of the ninth century A D. His son Bhaṭṭa Mukula wrote *Abhidhāvṛtti-mātṛkā*, a small work included in Alaṅkāra-śāstra.

Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa, a born siddha, learnt from Vasugupta the philosophical and theological significance of the doctrine of Spanda, as well as that method of the practical practice of its direct realization, which became known afterwards as *Spanda-tattvavivikti*(S.K.21). He developed a special system of the process of its practice as well as the principles of philosophy related to it in his works like Spandakārikā, Spanda-sarvasva etc.

Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara (10th cent.) praises him as the author of *Spanda sūtra* and *Tattvārtha-cintāmaṇi*, which he states to have been respectively the commentaries on the first three and the fourth sections of *Śivasūtra*. Abhinavagupta mentions such two commentaries under the titles *Madhuvāhinī* and Tattvārthacintāmaṇi. (I.P.V.V.vol.2.p.30). Out of these works Spanda-sūtra is just another name of Spanda-kārikā. The couplets of the work, being very brief in their form, and expressing emmensely wast ideas, have been taken and referred as sūtras by several authors, as is the case with the couplets of *Īśvarapratyabhijñā* of Utpaladeva. Kṣemarāja refers to the Kārikās as Spanda-sūtras (Śp.s, p. 3,8,25). Nothing more is known about Madhuvāhinī. It may have either been just another name of Śpandakārikā or may have been some other commentary on Śivasūtra which is lost. Passages from Tattvārtha-cintāmaṇi have been quoted by later authors like Abhinavagupta, Utpala-vaiśṇava and Kṣemarāia. Some of such passages look like sūtras and some as explanations. It appears that the fourth section of Śivasūtra, along with the commentary by Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa, was combinedly known among scholars and authors as *Tattvārtha-cintāmaṇi* and no distinction was shown by them between the two, as has been the case with Vākyapadiya and its commentary. See T.A. 6-12, I.P.V.V. vol. III, p. 349, T.A.V. vol. XI. p. 138, S.S.V. p.-69, S.S. p. 22)

A Sūtra of Śiva, quoted by Abhinavagupta as such in his Vivṛti-vimarśinī on Īśvarapratyabhijñā, is not found any-

where in the three sections of any of the three editions of Śivasūtra, bearing the commentaries by Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara, Kṣemarāja and Varadarāja. (See I.P.V.V. vol. II, p. 301). It can have been taken from the fourth section of that work mentioned by Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara.

Bhaṭṭa Pradyumna, the son of a maternal uncle of Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa, was his chief disciple. Though a Śaiva by tradition, he was much more devoted to the Śakti-aspect of the Absolute and consequently expressed Śaivism through a Śākta angle of vision and his such academic action was criticized by Somānanda in the 3rd chapter of his Śivadṛṣṭi.

4. Somānanda

Somānanda was that ancient teacher of Śaiva monism who, having had a vision of Lord Śiva in a dream, was instructed by him to express the Tantric philosophy concerned through the popular logical method and to write down a typical philosophic treatise on it for such purpose. Consequently, he drew the principles of philosophy and doctrines of practice of Śaiva monism from the Āgamas, arranged them properly and wrote a philosophical treatise, entitled *Śivadṛṣṭi* through the logical method and style laid down for the purpose by the authors of Nyāyaśāstra. Besides, he conducted a critical study of all the prevalent schools of thought through the same method and style and pointed out the main locunae found in them. He wrote a commentary on *Parātriśikā*, an important and abstruse Tantric work, mystic in character, dealing with the highest types of esoteric practices in Śāmbhava-yoga, termed as *Mātrikā* and *Mālinī*. That commentary is not now available, but a few passages from it have been quoted by Abhinavagupta in his *Vivaraṇa* on that work. Such quotations show somānanda as a master of the Kaula sādhanā as well. The seventh chapter of Śivadṛṣṭi proves the author to have been a perfact master of the Trika system of the theological practice of Śaiva monism. The work displays his perfect mastery over the Indian method of logical expression, Samskrit grammar and the typical style of the philosophic argumentation of Indian thinkers. Besides,

it reveals his comprehensive knowledge of the exact significance of all the main prevalent schools of Indian thought, not less than fifteen in number.

Most of the Brahmanic thinkers of India used to criticize the subtle logical arguments of the *Vijñānavāda* school of Buddhism without trying to grasp fully their exact significance. But somānanda laid emphasis on the importance of the exact understanding of the views of an antagonist, before starting to criticise them. Such commendable tradition, laid by Somānanda, was perfectly followed by utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta, especially in their works like commentaries on Śivadṛṣṭi and Vivṛti on Īśvarapratyabhijā as well as Vimarśinī on it. Thus says Abhinavagupta on the point—*Teṣām* (Somānanda-nāthānaṃ) hi īdṛśī śailiḥ—

> *Svapakṣān parapakṣāṃśca*
> *Niḥśeṣeṇa na veda yaḥ,*
> *Svayāṃ sa saṃśayāmbhodhau*
> *Nimajjaṃstārayet katham.* (quota. P.T.v. p. 117).

As a result of his such broad view, Somānanda devotes not less than fiftyfive couplets to the criticism of the logical views of *vijñānavāda*, discusses at sufficient length the views of *Sūnyavāda* and the theory of Cārvākas, while devoting just a few couplets to each of all the other schools of Indian thought, in the sixth chapter of his Śivadṛṣṭi.

Śitikaṇṭha, the writer of *Bāla-bodhinī-nyāsa*, a commentary on a work on Sanskrit grammar, says there in that he was a descendent of some Soma who lived at Padmapura and who was capable to excercise both, divine grace and wrath. Such Soma, a powerful siddha, possessing such divine powers, may, most probably, have been none other than Somānanda. He may, accordingly, have been a resident of Pampore, a place about seven miles to the south east of Srinagar.

Dr. S.N. Tikku, a well read Sanskrit scholar of Kashmir, relying on some writings by Narahari in his *Rāja-nighaṇṭu*, says that Somānanda lived at Simhapura, the modern Sempore village near Pampore. Such mention by Narahari is yet to be examined by the writer of these lines.

Most of the later descendents of the family of Somānanda fled to Jammū, Punjāb and Kāṅgṛā duriug the tyrannical reign of a fanatic Muslim ruler, named Sikandar Butśikan, in the first half of the fifteenth century and got mixed with the Brahmins of those areas. Those who stayed on in the Valley were either killed or converted to Islam. It is on such account that all the Kashmirian families under the surname "Tryambe", found at several places in the Valley, are Muslims. No Hindu under such family name is now found anywhere. But such Muslim families do, even now, enjoy sufficient social respect.

5. *Utpaladeva*

The most important work on the philosophic theory of Kashmir Śaivism is *Īśvara-pratyabhijñā* and its author, Utpaladeva is the most prominent one among the ancient masters of the subject. He was the chief disciple of Somānanda and succeeded him as the presiding teacher of the school of Tryambaka. His available works on Śaiva monism have already been enlisted in an appendix. But he had written some other work or works as well, because several quotations from his works, given by Abhinavagupta in his famous *Vimarśinī on Īśvarapratyabhijñā*, cannot be traced in any of his available works. Abhinavagupta quotes them as written by the author of Īśvarapratyabhijñā, but does not mention their actual sources.

6. *Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara*

Having the word Bhaṭṭa as his surname, he also belonged to some indigenous family of Kashmiri Brahmanas. He was the seventh presiding teacher in the line of the disciples of Vasugupta. His preceptor was Bhaṭṭa Śrīkaṇṭha.

Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara found Śivasūtra as depicting mainly the highest type of Śāmbhavôpāya conducted through a forceful will power expressed in the Sūtra-"Udyamo bhairavaḥ" (S.S. I-5). Such *upāya* is the cent percent direct means of intuitive realization of the real nature of the self of a being.

Such intuitional self knowledge has been named by Bhāskara as *Citprakāśa*, the light of pure consciousness. It is the superior psychic light of self-awareness of a being. Some of its primary results have been described in the first chapter of Śivasūtra. The second chapter, as interpreted by Bhāskara, is devoted to the depiction of the self-luminous brilliance of the psychic light of such self-realization, having a spontaneous rise at the level of the intellect of a sādhaka. It is a result of his attainment of maturity in the practice of the above mentroned 'Udyama'. Such spontaneous rise of the correct intellectual knowledge of the real nature of one's innermost self has been termed by Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara as ***Sahaja-vidyodaya***. Several superior results of such rise of spontaneous self-knowledge, as well as many super natural powers, rising through its practice, have been depicted, according to Bhaskara's interpretation, in the third chapter of Śivasūtra. Such powers of a yogin have been termed as "***Vibhūtis***" or siddhis that are of use in some mundane activities. Bhāskara gives suitable and appropriate headings to such chapters of Śivasutra in accordance with his interpretation as discussed above. Such three headings are (1) ***Cit-svarūpa-nirūpaṇam***, (2) ***Sahaja-vidyodaya-nirūpaṇam***, and (3) ***Vibhūtspanda***. These agree with the headings given by Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa to the three chapters of Spanda-Kārikā, as explained by the author himself.

Bhaṭṭa Bhāskra takes most of the sūtras in all the three chapters of Śivasūtra as depicting some facts and interprets them in the present tense or ***Laṭ Lakāra***, meaning that such and such things do happen as a result of maturity in the practice of 'Udyama'. The same view had been adopted by Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa in his Spanda-kārikā and the Vṛtti on it. Their view is the traditional one, come down from Vasugupta through an unbroken line of preceptors and disciples.

7 and 8. Bhaṭṭa Bhūtirāja and Bhaṭṭendurāja.

Being known as Bhaṭṭas, they also belonged to some indigenous family of Kashmirian Brāhmaṇas. Bhaṭṭa Bhūtirāja was a perfect siddha who had initiated Narasiṃhagupta, the father of Abhinavagupta, who also counts him among his

teachers imparting secret *mantras* of Śaivite sādhanā. Bhaṭṭendurāja, a son of Bhaṭṭa Bhūtirāja, imparted the secret sādhanā of the school of Śrīnātha to Abhinavagupta, besides, teaching him Bhagavadgītā. Helārāja, who wrote a commentary on Vākyapadīya, was another son of Bhaṭṭa Bhūtirāja. Kalhaṇa mentions some ancient historian under the name Helārāja, the author of the voluminous Pārthivāvali, which could not become available to him. It is difficult to say who that Helārāja was. Was he the son of Bhaṭṭa Bhūtirāja or some other scholar? Both these teachers of Śaivism belonged to the earlier part of the tenth century A.D.

9. *Śambhunātha*

Abhinavagupta pays tribute to several teachers from whom he learnt different subjects and topics. But so far as the definite and doubtless illumination of the finest secrets of the theory and practice of both Kula and Trika systems is concerned, he pays the highest tribute to Śambhunātha, the master preceptor of the *Ardha-tryambaka* school of monistic Śaivism, started by Tryambakāditya I through his daughter. Such school of Śaivism had later shifted to the shrine of *Vajreśvarī* at Kāṅgṛā which was known as *Jālandharapīṭha*. Abhinavagupta pays tribute to him in more than one of his works and quotes him as an authority on some mysterious topics of theory and practice in his Tantrāloka, not less than twenty times in its different chapters. He has been praised there with epithets like "*Jagaduddhṛtikṣamaḥ*" (capable to emancipate the whole world), "*Trikārthāmbhodhīcandramāḥ*" (the moon raising tides in the ocean of the Trika system of Śaivism), "dṛṣṭa-bhairava" (Lord Śiva in a visible form) and so on. Śambhunātha hailed from the South, received initiation in the secret doctrines of Śaivism from Sumatinātha, who also flourished in the South, and who lived at Mallikārjuna in Āndhra. Later on Śambhunātha moved to North and became very famous as the master of the *Ardhatryambaka* school at the above mentiond *Jālandharapīṭha*.

Jayaratha is not correct in saying that Śambhunātha, having received initiation from Somadeva, was not a direct

disciple of Sumatinātha, because Abhinavagupta refers to him more than once as a direct disciple of Sumati. For instance he says :

Ityetat prathamopāya-rūpaṃ dhyānaṃ nyarūpayat,
Śrī Śambhunātho me tuṣṭas tasmai Śrī Sumaiiprabhuḥ.
(T.A. V-41)

Iti Śrī Sumati-prajñācandrikāpasta-tāmasaḥ,
Śrī Śambhunāthaḥ sadbhāvaṃ jāgradādau nyrūpayat.
(T.A.X-287)

Pṛthvīdhara, the author of *Bhuvaneśvarī-stotra*, refers to him by two names, Śambhunātha and Siddhanātha. Having been a Siddha of a highest rank, he may have become famous as Siddhanātha as well. Sādhakas, having a high devotion towards their teachers, did not very often utter the exact name of a preceptor. Jayaratha speaks about Keyūravatī' an ancient teacher of Kālīnaya practised by him, as 'Kakāra-devī'. Fourteen beautiful stanzas of *Kramastotra*, composed by that Sidhanātha, alias Śambhunātha, have been preserved by Jayaratha by quoting them in his commentary on Tantrāloka, chap, IV. In the line of the disciples of this Śambhunātha appeared Śaiva Nāgārjuna in the thirteenth century. A chapter has already been devoted to him.

10 Lakṣmaṇagupta

He was a disciple of Utpaladeva and the teacher of Abhinavagupta in the Pratyabhijñā philosophy. It appears from a historical information, given by Abhinavagupta in his Vimarśinī onĪśvara-pratyabhijñā-vivṛti, that his education in the system of Pratyabhijā philosophy was entrusted by Utpaladeva himself to his disciple Lakṣmaṇagupta, perhaps on account of Abhinava's minor age of childhood. No work from the pen of Lakṣmaṇagupta is available at present, but he must have written some work on the subject concerned, because the views expressed by him, on a topic of sādhanā, have been recorded, and words used by him have been quoted

by Jayaratha in his commentary on Tantrāloka of Abhinavagupta (T.A.V. vol. 12 p. 148). He can chronologically be placed in the earlier part of the tenth century and the later part of ninth.

11. Abhinavagupta

Abhinavagupta, being the final authority on the interpretation of the theoretical principles and practical doctrines of Kashmir Śaivism, is the most important master of the subject. Detailed information about his contribution to the subject can be found elsewhere in this very volume. It has, besides, been already discussed that he, having appeared in the family of Atrigupta, was not a Vaiśya, but a ***Prāgrayajanmā***, that is, a Brāhmaṇa of the highest rank (P. Tr. Vi-p. 283). born in the gotra of Agastya. He learnt many ***sastras*** in both their aspects of theory and practice from many great scholar-saints to whom he pays tribute in his works, especially in his Tantrāloka. His father Narsinhagupta, alias Cukhulaka, taught him Samskrit grammar, logic, poetics etc. He learnt Pratyabhijñā-śāstra from Lakṣmaṇagupta, to whom he was entrusted for such purpose by Utpaladeva himself, as mentioned by Abhinnvagupta in his Vivṛti-vimarśinii. Śambhunātha of Jālandharapītha, who imparted to him the secret doctrines of the Ardhatryambaka school of Śaiva monism, was that master preceptor of the great author who removed all doubts from his head and heart about both, the theory and the practice of Śaiva monism. Being the perfect master of both, the Trika and Kula systems, he enlightened Abhinavagupta on all the knotty problems of practice in the sādhanā of these two systems and removed all his doubts regarding some mysterious topics of their theory as well. Vāmanātha and Bhaṭṭendurāja initiated him in the sādhanā of the dvaita and dvaitādvaita systems of Śaivism, started by Amardaka and Śrīnātha respectively. Bhūtirāja and Maheśvara, two highly advanced siddhas, imparted to him several secret doctrines about the ritual aspect of the Trika system. He mentions several other teachers from whom he learnt the

secrets of sevaral śāstras. Abhinavagupta did not have any wife or children (I.P.V.V. vol. III, p. 405). He had lost his mother when he was a child and was brought up by his father. He did not become a sannyasin and did not give up Brahmanic symbol, the scared thread.

Though Atrigupta, the ancestor of Abhinavagupta, had settled at Srinagar on the bank of *Vitasta* at some place which faced the *Śitānśumauli* temple of Śiva, yet it appears that his descendents may have later shifted to an area situated to the north of the Śārika hill. That area is still know as Gotapore or Guptapura. It is just possible that these Guptas, and especially Abhinavagupta, may have had some close contacts with places like Gupta-gaṅgā and Gupta-tīrtha, (at present Gopitirtha), situated on the eastern bank of the Dal lake. No people under the surname Gupta are known at present at Srinagar or elsewhere in the Valley. Abhinavagupta shall remain ever alive in this world in the form of three of his monumental works, namely-Tantrāloka, Īśvarapratyabhijñā-Vimarśinī and Abhinavabhāratī (on fine arts).

The story about Abhinavagupta's entery into the Bherua cave at the end of his mortal life, accepted by Dr. K.C. Pandey as an actual historical fact, appears to the writer of these lines as a ficticious account, set afloat by some devotees of ancient authors of Śaivism on the basis of their own devotional imagination. No written evidence in favour of the correctness of such account is available anywhere. Besides, such *guhāpraveśa* is not recommended in the practice of Kashmir Śaivism. Several such ficticious stories have been set afloat at different times by different devotees, for instance—(1) logical discussions between Abhinavagupta and Śaṅkarāchārya, (2)consequent authorship ofthe former with respect to Pañcastavī (of Dharmāchārya), (3) debate between Śankarāchārya and Abhinavagupta in Assam, (4) Several debatable episode regarding the life history of the great Vedantic teacher contained in Śankaradigvijaya of Mādhava, (14th century), but not corroborated by the Śankaravijaya of Anantānandagiri, (10th century) and so on. Such things are not uncommon in India. Gandhi Ji had to refute such accounts prevailing about him and having been set afloat by people

devoted to him, during his imprisonment. Abhinavagupta also alludes to such things having been prevalent in his time. One thing is really possible in this regard. Abhinavagupta may have performed a *cakrayāga* of the Kaula system in the cave which is sufficiently specious from within. Such yāga is performed very secretly in some closed door compartments. The interior of the cave contains many small idols at some fixed spots. The oral tradition is not thus totally baseless and the cave can have some real relation with Abhinavagupta, though the story of *guhāpraveśa* is not correct. (See Parātisikā-vivaraṇa—closing verses).

12. Kṣemarāja

Kśemarāja, the prominent disciple of Abhinavagupta, can have belonged to that family of Kashmirian scholars in which appeared teachers and authors like Bhūtirāja, Helārāja, Indurāja, Yogarāja etc. He was a highly intelligent and wastly well-read scholar and was egotically conscious about his such merit. Besides, he appears to have been keenly desirous to make a show of his superior intelligence and wast academic efficiency. Such tendency in him resulted in a sort of complexity and obscurity in his expression. But, since no other disciple of Abhinavagupta took any considerable interest in academic activities, Kṣemarāja became popular as the best disciple of the great teacher. This fact is borne out by the remarks of a contemporary author, Madhurāja and by later authors like Śivopādhyāya. (see Gurunāthaparamarśa p. 1 and Vijñānabhairavoddyota, p. 143). A detailed information about his wast contribution to Kashmir Śaivism has already been given in an index in the work in hand. He composed his commentary on *stava-cintāmaṇi* at Vijayeṣvara (modern vejibror) near Ananthing and may have probably inhabited that very town.

Kśemarāja's most important work is his *Vimarśinī* commentary on *Śivrasūtra*. It is a scholarly work in deed, but very often it does not follow the traditional interpretation, come down from Vasugupta He finds new interpretations to it and at places to *spandakārikā* as well. The headings given by him

to the three chapters of Śivasūtra do not suit their contents. He sees such three chapters as discussing the three *Upāyas* of the Trika system of sādhanā. But that is not correct. The elements of such Upāyas do mutually overlap in all the three chapters. The first chapter does not discuss clearly such important topics of *Śambhavopāya* as *Mātṛkā* system and the system of *Mālinī*, nor does it discuss the theory of reflection. The second chapter does not touch such important elements of *Śāktopāya* as *Bhāvanā*, *Vikalpa-saṃskāra*, or its varieties like Yoga, Japa, Homa, Yāga, Snaana, Vrata etc. The third chapter does not throw light on any of the important varieties like *Dhyāna*, *Uccāra*, *Karaṇa*, *Dhvani* and *Sthānakalpana*, of *Āṇavopāya*. Kśemarāja explains most of the sutras in the sense of *Viddhi*, denoted by a verb in imparative mood or a *Kṛdanta* like "*tavyat*" etc. That is not at all correct, because all the sutras in the third chapter aim at throwing light on the *Vibhūtis* or *Siddhis* of *Śāmbhavayoga* and are meant to say that such things do happen automatically as a result of a successful practice in that yoga.

13. Jayaratha

He belonged to a family of traditional scholars living at Vijayeśvara, modern Vejibror. Scholars interested in Tāntric sādhanā shall remain indebted to him for ever on account of the light thrown by him on it through his *Viveka* commentary on the *Tantrāloka* of Abhinavagupta. Tantraloka is the only important and comprehensive work which discusses in detail the Tantric system of religio spiritual practice, and brings about a cohesive integration between the philosophic theory and theological sādhanā of the higher and finer Tantrism. That work could not have become clearly intelligible had not Jayaratha composed the detailed *Viveka* commentary on it. Besides, Jayaratha quotes profusely from Tantras which are not at all available at present. Some of such prominent Tantras are *Siddhātantra*, *Triśirobhairava*, *Ratnamālā* etc. In addition, the commentary is a storehouse of historical information about Tantras and teachers of Tantrism. Even though it is not quite clear on many points and is not quite

correct at some places, its importance cannot be at all ignored.

14.-15. Madhurāja and Varadarāja

These two writers were father and son. They belonged to Kerala and came to Kashmir in search of the knowledge of Tānric Śaivism. Madhurāja attended the school of Abhinavagupta for several years and wrote a description of the great master, his associates and his ashrama under the title 'Gurunātha-parāmarśa. Varadarāja visited Kashmir in the time of Kśemarāja, studied Śaiva monism at his feet and composed another *Vārtika* on Śivasūtra in accordance with the views of Kśemarāja, as expressed in *Śivasūtra-vimarśini*. It is that Vārtika which clarifies the ideas of Kṣemarāja expressed obscurely in his Vimarśini and is therefore an essential aid to its understanding, though neither of these two works follows the traditional interpretation of Śivasūtra, come down from Vasugupta through an unbroken line of disciples.

16. Ādinātha

There are a few lines of Śaiva authors following some systems of practice other than the Trika. An author of such a line is of such views as are sufficiently similar to those of the authors of the Trika system. He is Ādinātha whose Anuttaraprakāśa-pañcāśikā is available, though without any commentary. It deals with topics like Tattvas, Mātṛkā, Śaktis, Śāktopāya etc. in accordance with the principles and doctrines of Kashmir Śaivisim. Some hermits of the line of Gorakhanātha claim this Ādinātha as the originator of their school of philosophy and theology. But the work does not contain any teachings of *Haṭhayoga*, popularly prevalent in the sect of Gorakhanātha. The term Śpanda, used in its technical sense, occurs in it in two couplets no's 49 and 52. The term "Sphurattā", a synonymn of the term Spanda, is also found at three places in the couplets No's 4 and 7. No dependable clue about the history of this Ādinātha is available. It can not therefore be said as to which time and place did he belong. One of the couplets from his work has been quoted by Maheś-

varānanda in the fourteenth century in his ***Mahārthamañjari-parimala***. No ancient author has mentioned or quoted him. His surname Nātha indicates his relation with Śāktism of the Kaula system. Most probably he may have belonged to medeaval age.

17. ***Śivopādhyāya***

Contribution of Śivopādhyāya to Kashmir Śaivism has already been depicted. He resided at Srinagar. His third ancestor, who lived at Balahome, was drowned in a stream in his young age, leaving behind his young wife and an infant boy who was deaf, dumb and cripple from his birth. When, after some time, the poor widow could not find anything in her home to fall back upon even for day to day necessities of life, she came down to Srinagar along with the invalid child and took refuge in the house of a great saint scholar named Sri Kṛṣṇā Joo, living at Bohrikadal. It was this saint to whom goddess Mahārājñī disclosed her present place of worship at Tulamula, which had remained submerged under water right from the tyranical rule of king Sikandar Butshikan. The saint welcomed the lady and she started to live there like a member of the family, attending to domestic activities and geting the necessities of life.

After a few years Pt. KṛśṇaJoo was one day moved very much by compassion on the diseased boy and through the excercise of his spiritural powers he cured the young boy of all the three diseases of deafness, dumbness and crippledom. The boy, named Gaṅgādhara Upādhyāya, was then educated by Śrī Kṛṣṅa Joo and in course of time became a scholar. Besides, he developed an intense devotion towards Mother goddess and spent much of his time in worshiping her at several important places of her worship. His son Prakāśa Upādhyāya, better known as Gāshi-nanavore, used to roam about barefooted in the important shrines dedicated to the Universal Mother. Through the grace of the Mother, he got a son who possessed such a sharp intelligence and so fine a mental capacity as to grasp the exact significance of the śāstras of high standard, even while he was a young boy below his teens; so

much so that even his teachers developed jealousy toward him and did not tolerate him becoming a greater scholar. Therefore they avoided to impart education to him. Then his father took him to Tulamula and approached ardently the Mother goddess Mahārājñī for her benevolent grace. At the dead of night the deity appeared in the form of a young girl, awakened the boy who was asleep, touched his eyes with her hands and blessed him in such a way that he started reading a book under the light of a lamp used in the worship of the deity. The boy went on reading, the girl disappeared, and Prakāśa-Upādhyāya came back from meditation to a normal state. The boy told him all about the girl. Then he was given all kinds of help books and commentaries with the help of which he became a renowed scholar through self-study, without the help of any teacher. Thus he became famous throughout the Valley as Śivopādhyāya, the most brilliant scholar of his age. He built a big library at his home and many students received both education and initiation from him. The oldest manuscripts of the works like Rājataraṅginī, Tantrāloka, Īśvarapratyabhijñā-Vimarśinī, Tantrasāsa, Yogavāsiṣṭha etc. became later available to the research scholars of the present age from the private libraries of the descendents of Śivopādhyāya.

Many good scholars appeared among his descendents and the last one among such scholars was Ānanda Pandit Upādhyāya. He was both a scholar and a saint and used to impart initiation in Śrīvidyā to many disciples. The readers of these lines may or may not believe, but it is a fact that Śrī Ānanda Pandit had frequent contacts with Śivopādhyāya who used to come to him, haunt a child and discuss through his speech several matters of mutual interest with the Pandit. The Pandit could quote passage from a peotic work composed by Śivopādhyāya and dealing with the historical account of his ancestors and his own, as well as those of the discovery of the present day place of the worship of Śrī Mahārājñī at Tulamula by Śrī Kṛṣṇa Pandit. The above mentioned historical information was received by the writer from Śrī Ānanda Pandit who had promised to search out the manuscript of that poetic work by Śivopādhyāya, or at least to write down

in proper order such verses of the MS as he could clearly recollect; but that did not actually happen till he passed away to some abode of siddhas in 1966-A.D. and the verses of the historical work composed by Śivopādhyāya became extinct along with his physical form which was duly cremated at Srinagar.

18. Amṛtavāgbhava Ācāarya

He appeared in 1903 A.D. in a Maharashtra Brahmana family which had shifted to the north several generation earlier. His ancestors used to narrate ***Śrīmad Bhāgavata Purāṇa*** and that was their means of livelihood. Most of them were great scholars but did not go for any service. His father, Śrī Kṛṣṇa Varakale alone served at several posts of high income and honour for a few years. He passed away in young age when the Āchārya was only of twelve years. At that time he was a student of Sanskrit geting some scholarship. He started doing proof reading of books published by publishers at Vārāṇasī. The little income earned by that work helped him in feeding himself, his mother and his younger brother, Rāmachandra Varakale. M.M. Śrī Gopīnāth Kavirāj, the Principal of the Queen's Sanskrit College, appointed him as a research scholar in the Library of the college. He left Vārāṇasī when he was in later twenties and moved about through out the whole of North India till 1982 when he passed away at Delhi to some abode of siddhas. He had many wonderful experiences as the result of his ***yogasādhanā***. Some of them have been described by him in the last chapter of his ***Siddhamahārahasya***.

19. Pt. Rāmeshvara Jha

He was a Sanskrit scholar of Vārāṇasī who, having visited Kashmir in the past fifties, studied works like Tantrāloka and, collecting the doctrines of the Trika system from them, composed a fresh work on the subject in the style of Samskrit Kārikās under the title—***Pūrṇatā-pratyabhijñā*** which is available in print with a translation in Hindi.

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